REPORT RESUMES

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THE IMPACT OF THE UPO DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM ON A SELECTED GROUP OF CARDOZO AREA YOUTH--A STUDY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION. SECOND YEAR REPORT--1965-66.

BY- JONES, ROY J. FISHMAN, JACOB R.
HOWARD UNIV., WASHINGTON, D.C.

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THIS 2D-YEAR REPORT OF AN EVALUATION STUDY OF A JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION PROGRAM IS CONCERNED PRIMARILY WITH THE ADOLESCENT COHORT (A CORE GROUP OF 14- TO 20-YEAR-OLDS) IN A SINGLE SCHOOL DISTRICT. THE MAJOR AIMS OF THE RESEARCH WERE TO DETERMINE WHETHER INTERVENTIONS HAD REDUCED DELINQUENCY IN A SELECTED GROUP FROM THE DISTRICT, AND TO TEST SOME OF THE CURRENT THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT DELINQUENCY. THE SAMPLE, INSTRUMENTS, AND DATA COLLECTION METHODS ARE OUTLINED. A SECTION ON DATA ANALYSIS DESCRIBES THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH-, MEDIUM-, AND LOW-RISK GROUPS AND SOME OF THE INTERVENTION EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH THEM. THE RISK GROUPS ARE DISCUSSED IN RELATION TO THE FACTORS OF A PUTATIVE DELINQUENT SUBCULTURE, ASPIRATIONS, PERCEPTIONS OF THE OPPORTUNITY SYSTEM, AND VALUE ORIENTATION. THE SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION SECTION NOTES THAT THE HYPOTHESIS THAT WITHOUT SOME INTERVENTION THE HIGH-RISK GROUP WOULD HAVE BECOME DELINQUENT WAS BORNE OUT, AND THAT THE NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS IN THE TARGET AREA APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE IN REDUCING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. IT IS FELT THAT THE EXPERIENCE OF THIS PROGRAM SHOWS THAT IF INTERVENTIONS ARE TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE, THEY MUST CONCENTRATE ON THE SPECIFIC PATHOLOGY OF THE GHETTO. THE APPENDIXES CONTAINED EXCERPTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH A YOUNG MAN FROM THE AREA AND TWO CASE EVALUATIONS FROM EACH OF THE THREE RISK GROUPS. (NH)

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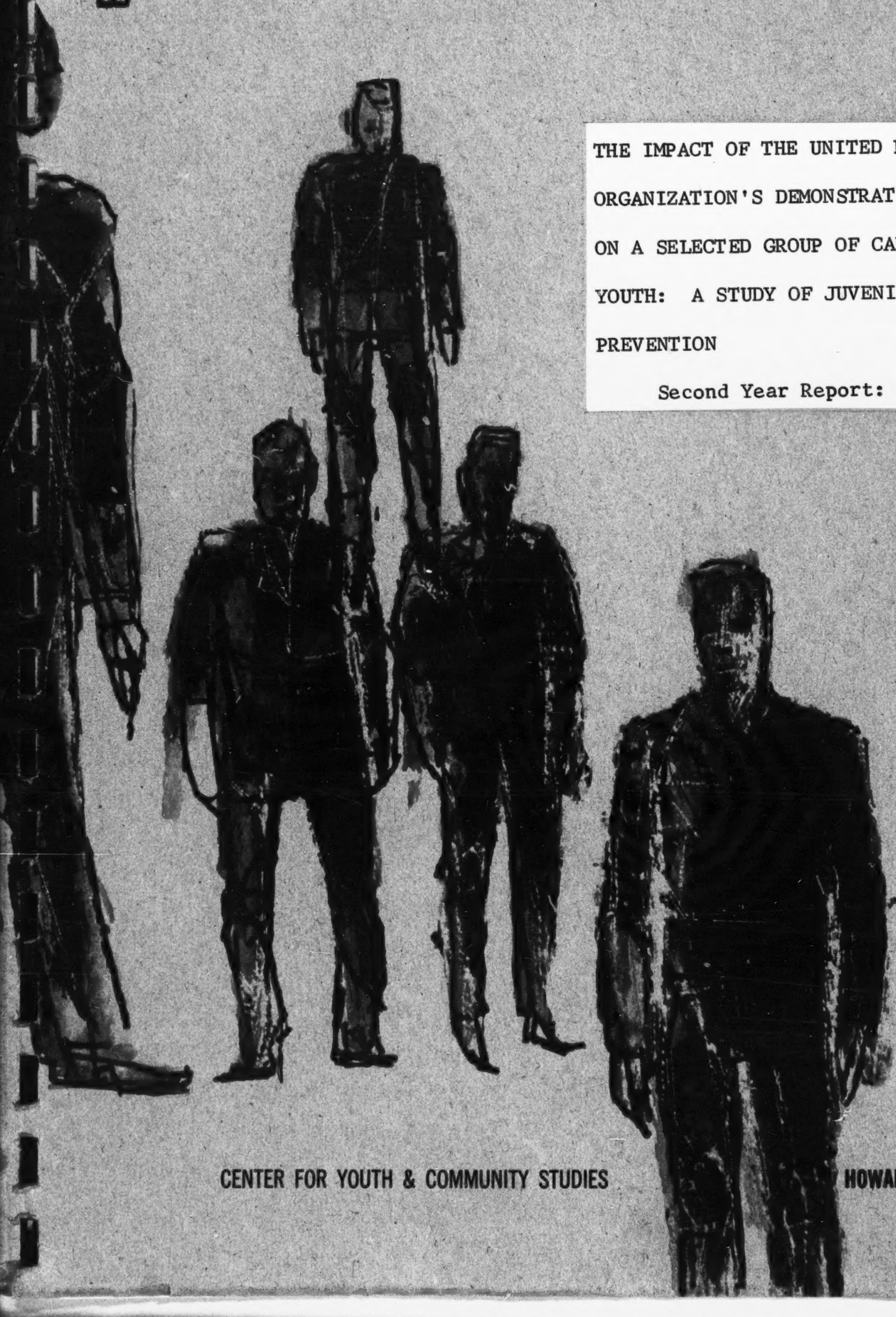

THE IMPACT OF THE UNITED PLANNING ORGANIZATION'S DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM ON A SELECTED GROUP OF CARDOZO AREA YOUTH: A STUDY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

Second Year Report: 1965-66

CENTER FOR YOUTH & COMMUNITY STUDIES HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTO

Second Year Report: 1965-1966
The Impact of the UPO Demonstration Program on a Selected Group of Cardozo Area Youth: A Study of Juvenile Delinquency Prevention

Submitted by:

Roy J. Jones, Ph.D., Project Director
Jacob R. Fishman, M.D., Director,
Institute for Youth Studies

Institute for Youth Studies
(Formerly Center for Youth and Community Studies)

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
Washington, D. C.

March 1966

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Second Year Report: 1965-66

Roy J. Jones, Ph.D.
Project Director

James I. DeShields
Asst. Project Director

James O. Taylor, Jr.
Research Associate

Jacob R. Fishman, M.D.
Director*

Institute for Youth Studies*

Howard University

Washington, D.C.

February 1967

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References

The Research Team

Director, Institute for Youth Studies: Jacob R. Fishman, M.D.

Full Time Staff

Project Director: Roy J. Jones, Ph.D.

Assistant Project Director: James I. DeShields

Senior Research Associate: James O. Taylor, Jr.

Office Manager: Willianna L. Wims

Secretary: Akhtar K. Stuman

Part-Time Staff:

Research Assistants: (Graduate and Undergraduate Students)

Albert Douglas
Donald G. Morgan
Sherman Robinson
Barbara B. Smith

Interviewers: (Graduate and Undergraduate Students)

Kwabena Akyeampong
Weldon M. Blade
John C. Brittain
Betty J. Bunns
Anne C. Burford
Joyce Chapman
Patricia Crampton
E. V. Francis
Thomas Harper
Dallas Darland
Mary Hawkins
Roderick Hughes
Juanita Jacobs
W. Frank Jones
James B. McDaniel
Jame Ribeau
Gloria Y. Smith
Andrea Waddel
Zula Wadell
Fidele L. Walcott
James Wiggs

Neighborhood Youth Corp Personnel:

Linda Adams
Constance Crawley
Rita Fowler
Marvelyn Gale
Vivian Hick
Evelyn Johnson
Odessa Jones
Veronica Jones
Carol Little
Sylvia Lucas
Dorothea Robinson
Carolyn Terrell
Jackie Sturdevent

Preface

Since 1960 there have been a number of Federally sponsored programs aimed specifically at solutions to the problems of the urban ghetto. Among these have been the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime Act of 1961, the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, Health Professional Education Assistance Act of 1963, Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Higher Education Act of 1964, the Housing Acts of 1961 and 1964, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Supporting legislations aimed at the solution to this problem have been the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and Aid to Federally Impacted Areas. There have been additional Health, Housing, Education and Employment Acts and amendments since 1960.

There is ample evidence attesting to the need for these social intervention efforts. Such evidence is to be found in the legislative history of these Acts. Further, the relationship between the anti-social behavior found in the ghetto and the circumstances of life for the residents of the ghetto has been well documented in the research literature.

There has been, however, a relative dearth of rigorous and objective evaluations of how effective the programs are in accomplishing legislative intent. If such data were available the administrator, the program planner and the personnel at the operational level would have a more objective basis for making determinations about what program component or combination of programs are the most efficacious.

It has been recognized that "intervention research", as this type of research is now called, can serve several functions. Among these are: (1) population accounting (2) program monitoring and feedback and (3) examination and re-examination of the assumptions underlying intervention efforts. The present study represents a beginning effort at evaluating the effectiveness of a comprehensive social intervention effort.

The study was originally proposed in October, 1964. This second year report, on the effect of United Planning Organization (UPO) Demonstration Program on the Reduction of Juvenile Delinquency, represents a terminal point of what was originally intended to be a three year longitudinal study. A cutback in funds necessitated termination of the contract.

A report on the first year of research was formerly submitted to UPO in 1966. Five major study areas were included in the first year report; (1) development of base expectancy tables on the Cardozo area youth, (2) identification and study of a random selected adolescent cohort, ages 14 and 17; (3) a study of families in a sub-sample of the adolescent cohort, (4) focused study of a sample of demonstration area Preschool Program and (5) an accounting of the total population receiving services for the various components of the demonstration programs.

Four of the five research studies included in the original design, were discontinued the second year, also because of a reduction in funds. The research activity for the second year has focused primarily on the Adolescent Cohort.

It should be pointed out that, while the study was designed the second year to answer the question on the effect of UPO intervention efforts on the reduction of juvenile delinquency in the Cardozo School District, the scope of the question was narrowed to the making of a determination of the effect of UPO demonstration program on the reduction of juvenile delinquency for the population under study. The high attrition rate which occurred with this segment of the population precludes the making of generalizations about the total 14 to 20 year old population in the Cardozo School District.

It is hoped that this second year of study will provide a base upon which continued evaluations of the effectiveness of intervention efforts may be built. Moreover, it is hoped that the difficulties encountered and pointed out in implementing a study of this magnitude can be obviated in future research.

We would like to express our appreciation to Mr. James Banks, Director of the United Planning Organization; to Mr. Bernard Russell and Mr. Seymour Rosenthal and other staff members of the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, who made the primary grant to UPO and the subsequent contract to the Howard University, Institute for Youth Studies, possible.

We would like to acknowledge the assistance given us by the Research Division of the United Planning Organization.

Appreciation is expressed to the Public Schools, District of Columbia, the Department of Public Welfare, District of Columbia and the Department of Corrections, District of Columbia, for making their records available to us and the assistance provided by their staff in arranging for the interviews of the youth included in this study.

We are indebted to the 455 youth and their parents who consented to be interviewed for this study. This is especially true for those youth and their parents in the Cardozo School District who have been interviewed and re-interviewed in this and other studies during these two years.

A number of persons have been involved in this project over the past two years. They are not all included in the composition of the research staff. Our appreciation is expressed to them for the varied contributions which they made during the course of this study.

A very special debt is owed to those Neighborhood Youth Corp Trainees and other high school dropouts, who in being assigned to this work-site, assisted us in testing and proving our hypotheses regarding motivation, training, and counseling of disadvantaged youth.

Roy J. Jones, Ph. D.,
Project Director

Jacob R. Fishman, M. D.,
Director, Institute for
Youth Studies

Introduction

The program components of the United Planning Organization's (UPO) Demonstration program funded by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare are directed toward the reduction of juvenile delinquency in the Cardozo School District. This comprehensive demonstration program is based on the assumption that a relationship exist between delinquent behavior and the low socio-economic circumstances of the target population. The major program components of this demonstration program are operationalized through three Neighborhood Development Centers located in the target area. The three Neighborhood Development Centers of the United Planning Organization have been in operation since 1964.

During the first year of operation these three UPO Neighborhood Development Centers reported a total of 54,880 contacts. There were 11,681 individual contacts and a total of 1,013 family contacts were reported. In general, the population served were young adults with a median educational level of 10.1 years and a reported median income of $2,816. These findings led to the conclusion that UPO was in contact with the intended target population.

The Neighborhood Center concept involves the maximum utilization of indigenous persons from the target population in policy making and employment in the Neighborhood Center programs. It is contended that by locating these Centers in the target area, the chances of gaining access to the opportunity system will be increased for the target population. One of the major underlying philosophies in the implementation of the Neighborhood Development Center program is that a broadening of the economic base of the target area will occur and therefore, a decrease in delinquent and other anti-social behavior will result.

Two of the studies included in the first year of research, the base expectancy and the adolescent cohort, were specifically concerned with the effect of the UPO target area program on the reduction of juvenile delinquency.

It was indicated in the original "Net Impact Study" design that preliminary work would begin on the development of base expectancy tables. These preliminary tables were to be used in making predictions of delinquent behavior of target area youth and evaluating possible effects of program intervention in changing outcome. Youth who had certain characteristics, i.e., came from broken homes, were school dropouts or had developed patterns of truancy, were to be classified into medium, high or low risk categories. It was hypothesized that if the UPO demonstration program was effective in reducing juvenile delinquency, the predictions generated from these data would not hold.

A pilot study was conducted to determine whether data entered in the Public School records could be used in the establishment of a base expectancy. Data were collected from the school records of 62 current school enrollees and 51 school dropouts. All of the youth included in this pilot study were 17 years of age and all were either currently enrolled in, or had dropped out of, the Cardozo High School. The data collected included selected variables which were hypothesized to be indicators of school performance and dropout behavior. Retrospective data were collected and recorded on these variables for these youth at the time when they were age 14. The results of the analysis of these data were not definitive.

The pilot work conducted in developing a base expectancy from school data did, however, indicate that there were three, and possibly four variables which would differentiate the school dropout from the non-dropout. These were broken homes, cumulative scholastic grade average; cumulative deportment grade average; the Composite Verbal Reasoning and Numerical Ability Scores of the Differential Aptitude Test. The statistical analysis indicates that the precision in prediction was increased by 11.5 percent better than chance.

During the first year of study, 455 of the 625 youth included in the adolescent cohort were located and interviewed. The data analyses for the first year included 434 of these interviews held with these youth. Twenty one of the interviews were not included because they were collected after data analyses had begun.

The analysis of the interview data collected during the first year was concerned with individual family and neighborhood factors for the institutionalized and non-institutionalized youth included in this study. An attempt was made to determine what factors differentiated between the institutionalized and non-institutionalized adolescent. It was reasoned that the making of such a determination would be of value in identifying the vulnerable youth in the Cardozo area included in this population. Once such an identification could be made, intervention efforts could then become more focused.

It was hypothesized that intervention would be directly related to institutional status and home status of these adolescents. The analysis revealed that there was no significant difference between the youth who were in institutions and those who were not in institutions when they were compared on home status. Slightly better than 51 percent of the youth interviewed were from intact homes while 48.6 percent were from non-intact homes.

No difference was found between the percentile achievement score for those youth institutionalized and those not institutionalized. The social class aspiration and peer group behavior was essentially the same for the institutional and non-institutional population. Both groups of youth had been involved in offenses for which they either were or could have been arrested.

The youth were significantly different, however, on the educational variable. The institutionalized youth tended to drop out of school earlier and his average scholastic grade was lower than the non-institutionalized youth. The finding of an absence of a difference with respect to home status and the achievement scores obtained by these youth suggested that there were a significant number of delinquency prone or delinquency vulnerable youth in the non-institutionalized population.

When the family characteristics were examined no differences were found between the institutional population and the non-institutional population with respect to church attendance and the youth's perception of the closeness of his family. Significant difference was found between the two groups of youth on mobility rates, family deviancy with respect to law violating behavior and alcohol consumption.

When the neighborhood deviancy variable was examined, many of the youth, both from the institutionalized population and the non-institutionalized population, reside in high delinquency areas. As the 1965 report indicated, they live in areas where the median income is low, where overcrowding is high, where the incidence of broken homes is high, where the illegitimacy rates are high, and where the overall socio-economic circumstances are low.

Analysis of the data collected during the first year indicated that slightly better than half of the youth interviewed had heard of UPO but less than 12 percent had been actively involved in UPO programs. This relatively low percentage, of Cardozo area youth being involved in UPO programs, was attributed to the fact that all three of the Neighborhood Development Centers had not become fully operational as of the summer of 1965.

As of the summer of 1966, the UPO Neighborhood Development Centers located in the Cardozo School District had become fully operational. The question as to their effect on the reduction of juvenile delinquency therefore, becomes more appropriate.

A subsidiary question concerns the testing of some of the assumptions on which this comprehensive delinquency prevention program is based.

The development and implementation of the UPO and other delinquency-prevention programs, funded by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity was greatly influenced by the work of Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin.

In 1961 Cloward and Ohlin stated that programs of delinquency-prevention should be aimed at "the social setting which gives rise to delinquency."

These authors further contended that delinquency is related to differential access to legitimate and illegitimate opportunties. The lower class youth who has been denied opportunities to achieve aspirations through legitimate means will turn to the illegitimate opportunity system to achieve their aspiration. They state specifically:

> When a social system generates severe problems of adjustment for. . .a particular social class, it is possible that a collective challenge to the legitimacy of the established rules of conduct will emerge. . .this is especially likely to occur where a democratic ideology exists, espousing equality of opportunity and universally high aspirations for success. Since discrepancies between aspirations and opportunity are likely to be experienced more intensely at some social positions than at others,. . .persons in status locations where the discrepancy is most acute may develop a common perception and sense of indignation about their disadvantages as contrasted with the advantages of others. Interaction among those sharing the same problem may provide encouragement for the withdrawal of sentiments in support of the established systems of norms. Once free...such persons may devise or adopt delinquent means of achieving success.

Cloward and Ohlin conceptualized the evolution of delinquent sub-cultures, the operational assumption being that limited access to opportunity for slum boys is a precipitating factor in delinquent behavior.

Albert Cohen (1955) also ascribes delinquent behavior to the existence of a delinquent sub-culture. He contends however, that delinquent behavior among lower class boys is a function of their rejection of middle class values. He states:

> The delinquent sub-culture....is a way of dealing with the problems of adjustment....These problems are chiefly status problems: Certain children are denied status in the respectable status system. The delinquent sub-culture deals with these problems by providing criteria of status which these children can meet.

With these two theoretical formulation as their basis, Landis and Scarpitti (1965) developed attitude scales which purport to measure (1) value orientation and (2) awareness of limited opportunity.

The research conducted by Landis and Scarpitti showed that (1) orientation and awareness of limited opportunity were measurable entities, (2) value orientation and awareness of limited opportunity varied by age, race and sex, (3) value orientation and limited opportunity appeared related to delinquency proneness and delinquency involvement, and (4) value orientation and awareness of limited opportunity are attitudinal measures probably highly predictive of "very good" or "very bad" youth but less predictive or actual delinquency involvement in the middle ranges of lower class adolescent behavior.

Two major purposes of research effort this second year are (1) to determine the effect of UPO intervention efforts on the reduction of Juvenile Delinquency for a selected group of youth in the Cardozo School District and (2) to test some of the current theoretical assumptions regarding juvenile delinquency.

Data collected and analyzed for the second year of study, therefore, is aimed specifically at providing answers to the following questions:

1. To what extent has UPO intervened in the lives of the youth included in this study over the last two years?

2. To what extent has UPO intervention efforts resulted in a reduction of juvenile delinquency for this population?

3. Were there differential effects for those youth who were in contact with UPO programs who have been classified as high risk when these youth are compared with those who have been classified in the medium and low risk groups?

4. What is the relationship, if any, between youth classified in high, medium, and low risk groups and anti-social behavior of these youth?

5. Is there evidence which attests to the existence of a delinquent sub-culture among the youth included in this study?

6 How do these youth perceive the opportunity system and does this perception differ according to risk groups?

7. What are the aspirations and value orientation of these youth and do they differ for the three risk groups?

8. Is there a discrepancy between the aspirations of those youth and their perception of the opportunity system?

Method of Procedure

A. The Sample

The sample selected for study the second year is the same sample selected for study the first year. The description of the sample is also essentially the same as that included in the first annual report.

Population estimates based on the 1960 census data, indicated that a total of 1,242 fourteen-year-old youth and a total of 947 seventeen-year-old youth live in the 18 census tracts of the target area. (These estimates were based on the number of youth in the ten-and-thirteen-year-old category reported in the 1960 census. A precoded data collection instrument was developed for the purpose of enumerating these two populations. A combined total of 1,644 youth were enumerated. This figure represents 63.9 percent (677) of the estimated 17-year-old population and 77.8 percent (967) of the estimated 14-year-old population. Data on current school status were obtained on the youth born during the years 1947 and 1950, respectively. Data were collected on the in-school and dropout populations at both public and parochial schools. Enumeration of the institutionalized 14-and 17-year-old populations was conducted at the D. C. Children's Center, The National Training School for boys and The Department of Correction's Youth Center. Further enumeration of school drop-outs and those youth in the labor force was conducted using the records of the United Planning Organization's Youth Employment Counseling Center.

A random sample of 569 was drawn, exclusive of the institutional population, from these two groups. In the case of the institutional group the total enumerated was included in the cohort. The sample included 310, 14-year-old youth and 315, 17-year-old youth.

B. The Instruments and Data Collection

The interview schedule used the second year was essentially the same with repsect to content, as the one used during the first year of study. The interview schedule contained 132 items. Fourteen of the broad categories of information collected in 1965 were included in the 1966 schedule. Among these were background, family constellation, motivation and aspiration, attitudes toward the neighborhood, community participation, anti-social behavior, peer group relations and knowledge of United Planning Organization.

As an adjunct to the interview schedule, two scales were administered to all of the youth interviewed. These two scales were designed to measure (1) the value orientation of these youth and (2) their perception of the opportunity system.

The interview and scales required approximately 55 minutes to administer. Five interview teams were used and each team was comprised of approximately four persons. Several of the interviewers utilized this year were the same individuals employed by the project last year. The interviewers were Howard University graduate and undergraduate students and Neighborhood Youth Corp Trainees.

A two-day training program was conducted for the interviewers. The training program for interviewers has been shown, from past experience, to be effective in preparing the interviewers for field work. The majority of the interviews were conducted during the months of July and August.

During the first year of study a total of 455 or 73 percent of the 625 youth in the Adolescent Cohort were interviewed. At the end of the second year the total number of youth interviewed was 329.

This figure of 329 youth represents 72 percent of the youth located the first year but only 52.3 percent of the total number of youth included in the original sample.

It was hypothesized that these "hard-to-locate" adolescents represented a large segment of the population at which the UPO demonstration program was aimed. For this reason efforts were intensified to locate these youth during the second year. In addition to making many inquiries in the neighborhood and submitting the names of these youth and their parents to the United States Post Office, the records of the D.C. Public Schools and the D.C. Department of Public Welfare were checked for new addresses. This procedure had to be abandoned when the cost and the rate of return were taken into consideration.

The distribution by interview status for the first and the second year of study is presented below:

Interview Status	1965	1966
Interviewed	455	329
In Armed Services	5	10
Moved out of town	8	17
Uncooperative	31	14
Addresses unknown	124	253
Deceased	1	1
Fugitive or recently institutionalized	1	1
Total	625	625

Data Analyses

A. Intercoder Reliability

A code guide and a code sheet was designed for the purpose of preparing data for IBM processing. Six of the interviewers used to collect the data also served as coders. In addition, to coding they had the responsibility for computing discrepancies scores. Intercoder reliability was determined by selecting ten items from the raw data and having six persons code each of these responses. The intercoder reliability was computed and a percent agreement of .89 was obtained.

B. Establishing Risk Groups

As indicated earlier, analysis of interview data collected during the first year indicated that the non-institutionalized youth did not differ significantly from the institutionalized youth with respect to their home status (broken home or intact home), and percentile achievement score. A difference was reported on average scholastic grade. These and other findings led to the conclusion that there were vulnerable youth in the non-institutionalized population.

The pilot base expectancy analysis however, revealed three variables which differentiated between the youth enrolled in school and those not enrolled in school. These three variables were: broken homes, cumulative average scholastic grade, and cumulative average deportment grade. These variables were used to establish the following risk groups:

High Risk Group

Group A
Broken Home
Low Average Scholastic Grade
Low Average Deportment Grade

Medium Risk Group

Group B
Intact Home
Low Average Scholastic Grade
Low Average Deportment Grade

Group C
Broken Home
Low Average Scholastic Grade
High Average Deportment Grade

Group D
Broken Home
High Average Scholastic Grade
Low Average Deportment Grade

Group E
Intact Home
High Average Scholastic Grade
Low Average Deportment Grade

Group F
Intact Home
Low Average Scholastic Grade
High Average Deportment Grade

Group G
Broken Home
High Average Scholastic Grade
High Average Deportment Grade

Low Risk Group

Group H
Intact Home
High Average Scholastic Grade
High Average Deportment Grade

In addition to the characteristics listed above for the high risk group, all youth who were school dropouts and all youth who were previously institutionalized or currently institutionalized were included in the high risk group.

C. Characteristics of the Risk Groups

Age, sex, school and institutional status of the risk groups are presented in Tables one through three. Inspection of the data included in these tables indicate the following:

(1) Over one-half (55.3 percent) of the youth interviewed are below the age of 18. Almost half (48.6 percent) of the total number of youth in the age group 15-17 years of age are classified in either the high or medium risk categories.

(2) Proportionately more of the youth in the high and medium risk group are males; conversely, proportionately more of the youth in the low risk group are females.

(3) Almost three-fourths (72.8 percent) of the 81 youth included in the high risk group have dropped out of school. Thirty-one or 38.3 percent of these youth are either currently institutionalized or have been previously institutionalized.

Table 1

Distribution by Age and Risk Groups

Age Group	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
15 - 17	36	10.9	124	37.7	22	6.7	182	55.3
18 - 20	45	13.7	79	24.0	23	7.0	147	44.7
Total	81	24.6	203	61.7	45	13.7	329	100

Table 2

Distribution by Sex and Risk Group

Sex	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	48	14.6	118	35.9	18	5.5	184	55.9
Female	33	10.0	85	25.9	27	8.2	145	44.1
Total	81	24.6	203	61.7	45	13.7	329	100

Table 3

School and Institutional Status of the High Risk Group

Institutional status	School Status					
	Enrolled		Not Enrolled		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Currently or previously institutionalized	14	17.3	17	21.0	31	38.3
Not institutionalized	8	9.9	42	51.8	50	61.7
Total	22	27.2	59	72.8	81	100

D. Characteristics of the Population not Interviewed

One hundred and twenty six of the 455 youth interviewed during the first year could not be located the second year. These hard-to-locate youth have also been categorized by risk groups. Analysis of the data collected on these 126 youth during 1965 indicated the following:

(1) Half of the youth (63) are under eighteen years of age and half are eighteen years of age or older.

(2) Forty nine (43.8 percent) of the youth under 18 years of age were classified in either the high or medium risk group, while 52 or 41.3 percent of those over eighteen were in these risk groups. The remaining youth were classified as low risk.

(3) Seventy three (57.9 percent) of the 126 youth not located for interviews the second year were males. The remainder, 53 (42.1 percent) were females.

(4) Sixty two or 49.1 percent of the male youth were classified as high or medium risk.

(5) Only seven (5.6 percent) of the female youth were classified as high risk. Thirty two (25.4 percent) however, were classified as medium risk.

(6) Sixty nine (54.8 percent) of the youth had heard of UPO. Of these, 13 had been involved in UPO programs.

(7) In 1965, 29 (23 percent) of the 126 youth were school drop-outs and 16 (12.7 percent) were either currently or had previously been institutionalized.

E. Intervention Efforts

The annual report of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia indicates that there was a decrease in the rate of juvenile delinquency for the child population ages 7-17 during the fiscal year 1966.

Examination of data on delinquency rates over the last five years (see Table 4) indicates that the rate was highest for the fiscal year 1964.

Further examination reveals that the rate for 1966 is lower than that recorded in either fiscal year 1964 or fiscal year 1965.

A similar finding has been reported by the Youth Aid Division, Metropolitan Police Department (see Table 5). The annual report of the Youth Aid Division indicates a 25.2 percent increase for fiscal year 1964 over fiscal year 1963 in the number of youth referred to the Juvenile Court on criminal and quasi-criminal complaints. The Youth Aid Division reports an 11.9 percent decrease in cases referred to Juvenile Court for the fiscal year 1966 as compared with fiscal year 1965.

Table 4

Juvenile Delinquency Rates for Youth
Referred to the Juvenile Court From
1962 to 1966

Fiscal Year	Number Referred*	Rate per 1,000 Ages 7 - 17
1966	3,704	27.2
1965	3,985	29.3
1964	3,727	27.7
1963	3,134	25.0
1962	2,345	20.5

*Sources of referral for the Juvenile Court included the Youth Aid Division, The Board of Education, Parents or Guardians, The D.C. Department of Public Welfare, other courts, and Agencies of the Federal Government.

Table 5

Youth Referred to the Juvenile Court by the
Youth Aid Division from 1962 to 1966

Fiscal Year	Number Referred	Percentage increase from previous year
1966	3,244	-11.9
1965	3,467	+ 3.5
1964	3,348	+25.2
1963	2,672	+13.0
1962	2,366	+17.8

The number of juveniles previously known to the Court (repeaters) has remained consistently over 52 percent of the total number referred for this five year period. Recidivism is higher in the District of Columbia than it is nationally. At the national level only one-third of the delinquents referred to the Courts are repeaters.

Data are not yet available for the nation for fiscal year 1966. There was a relatively small increase in 1965, compared with 1964, for the nation.

The fact that there was a reduction in juvenile delinquency rates at the local level in fiscal year 1966 and the assumption that if the trend continues a reduction will be seen at the national level, allows for speculation as to the reason for this decline in juvenile delinquency rates.

It may be that recent court decisions at the local and national level have resulted in a reduction of the number of juvenile arrests and subsequent referrals to the Juvenile Courts.

It is also possible that local community action efforts, have been effective in reaching and involving this segment of the population.

In this context, the 1965 report of the Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education and Welfare States:

> Exactly why the year 1965 showed so small an increase compared to the years immediately preceding is difficult to determine. The large segment of juveniles born in 1947 when birth rates were high, has moved out of the 16-and 17-year ranks into the age groups subject to adult criminal jurisdiction. These were the groups that contributed so heavily to the high increases in 1963 and 1964. Another factor contributing to the small rise in 1965 may be the increasing emphasis placed on delinquency-prevention efforts such as job training, youth employment opportunities, back-to-school drives, etc.

Two major questions have been proposed with respect to UPO intervention efforts. The questions are: (1) to what extent has UPO intervened in the lives of the youth included in this study over the last two years and, (2) to what extent has this intervention resulted in a reduction of juvenile delinquency for this population?

It was stated in the 1965 report that of the number of youth included in the analysis 55.9 percent (243) had heard of UPO and fifty (11.2 percent) of the total had been involved in UPO Programs. Comparative data are presented for 1965 and 1966 in Tables 6 and 7 below. The data for 1965 presented in Tables 6 and 7 includes twenty one cases that were not originally reported on in the previous analysis.

Significantly more of the youth in this study had heard of UPO in 1966 than in 1965. Part of this increase, however, may be attributed to the fact that the youth were specifically asked whether they had heard of UPO in 1965. It should be pointed out that even though the question was asked in 1965, a small number of the youth interviewed in 1966, twenty two or 6.7 percent stated that they have never heard of UPO.

Table 6

Knowledge of UPO Programs during the Years of 1965 and 1966

Heard of UPO	Years			
	1965		1966	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	257	57.6	307	93.3
No	189	42.4	22	6.7
Total*	446	100	329	100

*Nine no information

Examination of the data presented in Table 7 indicates that there were proportionately twice as many youth involved in UPO programs in 1966 as there were in 1965. This increase in 1966 over 1965 is statistically significant.

Table 7

Youth Involved in UPO Programs During 1965 and 1966

Involved in UPO programs	Year			
	1965		1966	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	50	11.2	91	27.7
No	396	88.8	238	72.3
Total*	446	100	329	100

*Nine no information, X^2 of 34.91 is significant at the .001 level of probability

When the data on the youth interviewed in 1965, but not interviewed in 1966, is included in the analysis (Table 8) the total number of the youth involved in UPO programs over the last two years is increased. Of the 455 youth on whom data were available in 1965 and/or 1966, 104 or (22.8 percent) have been directly involved in UPO programs. Seventy nine (17.4 percent) of the youth had neither heard of UPO nor been involved in UPO programs. Included in this group are the twenty two youth who reported no knowledge of UPO in 1966. The remaining fifty seven youth are those that were interviewed in 1965, but were not located for interview in 1966.

Table 8

Total Number of Youth Interviewed During 1965 and 1966 who had Knowledge of and/or Involved in UPO Programs

	Involved in UPO Programs					
Heard of UPO	Yes		No		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	104	22.8	272	59.8	376	82.6
No			79	17.4	79	17.4
Total	104	22.8	352	77.2	455	100

The question of the effect of UPO Programs on the reduction of juvenile delinquency in the Cardozo School District has, of necessity, been narrowed to the question of the effect of UPO programs on the reduction of juvenile delinquency for the population under study.

The scope of the research question has been narrowed because of the high attrition that has occurred with this population. The original sample included 625 youth. It was assumed that this sample was somewhat representative of the total 14 and 17 year old population in the area (approximately 77 percent of the projected 14 and 17 year old population was enumerated). It should be pointed out that while the original sample of 625 was selected in December of 1964, interviewing did not begin on this population until the summer of 1965. It may be that these youth and their families are the more mobile persons in the sample. It is probable, therefore, that even if the interviewing could have been conducted earlier in the year, many of these youth would have still been difficult, if not impossible, to locate.

With the high attrition rate for this population occuring as it did, the extent to which generalizations can be made about juvenile delinquency for the Cardozo area is restricted. Moreover, the extent to which generalizations can be made about the population currently under study is restricted. The fact that 455 youth were located for interview the first year and 329 were located for interview the second year, raises a serious question as to the extent to which generalizations may be made about the youth not interviewed. Analysis of the data collected on the 126 youth, who were interviewed in 1965 but not located for interview in 1966 indicate that 101, (80.1 percent) were in the high or medium risk groups. Half of the youth were below the age of 18 and half were 18 years of age and older. Examination of the data presented in Table 9 indicates proportionately more of the youth not located for interview in 1966 are in the high risk group, while proportionately more of the youth interviewed in 1966 are in the medium risk group. The youth not interviewed in 1966, however, had a higher proportion of youth in the low risk group.

Table 9

Distribution of by Risk Group of Youth Interviewed
and Youth not Interviewed in 1966

Risk Group	Interviewed 1965 & 1966		Interviewed 1965 not interviewed in 1966	
	N	%	N	%
High	81	24.6	44	34.9
Medium	203	61.7	57	45.2
Low	45	13.7	25	19.8
Total	329	100	126	99.9

It was indicated in Table 6 that 307 of the 329 youth interviewed this year had heard of UPO. The percentage distribution by risk group for those who had heard of UPO is essentially the same in each group, 92.6 percent of the high risk group had heard of UPO, 93.1 percent of the youth classified as medium risk had heard of UPO and 95.6 percent of the youth who were classified as low risk group had heard of UPO.

Table 10 presents the distribution by risk groups for the 91 youth who were involved in UPO programs. Inspection of this table indicates that proportionately more of the youth in the medium risk group were involved in UPO programs.

Table 10

Distribution by Risk Group for Youth Involved in UPO Programs

Risk Group	Number	Percent
High	22	24.2
Medium	56	61.5
Low	13	14.3
Total	91	100

Presented in Table 11 is type of UPO program involvement. The majority of the youth who have been involved with UPO have been in some type of employment program. Except for the Upward Bound Program, the distribution is essentially the same for all risk groups. Two of the Upward Bound Youth have been classified as low-risk and one has been classified medium risk.

Table 11

Type of UPO Involvement

Program	Number	Percent
Employment	24	26.4
Summer Job	18	19.8
NYC	17	18.6
Step-Up	5	5.5
Clean-Up	4	4.4
Upward Bound	3	3.3
Other	20	22.0
Total	91	100

The youth were asked, how well they thought UPO was doing the job. Of the 307 youth who had indicated that they knew of UPO, the majority felt that UPO was doing its job well or very well. Eighty (26.1 percent) of the 307, however, were unable to make an appraisal. Only a small proportion of the youth responding thought that UPO was doing the job poorly. The distribution of the responses to this question is presented in Table 12. The majority of the respondents who felt that UPO was not doing the job well are in the medium or low risk category. Only three of the high risk youth felt that UPO was doing a poor job.

Table 12

Distribution by Risk Groups on How Well UPO is doing the Job

How well is UPO doing the job	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very well	30	52.6	71	51.4	13	40.6	114	50.2
Well	24	42.1	54	39.1	16	50.0	94	41.4
Poorly	3	5.2	9	6.5	2	6.3	14	6.2
Very poorly			4	2.9	1	3.1	5	2.2
Total*	57	99.9	138	99.9	32	100	227	100

*Twenty two no information 80 cannot say

Discussion

Two major questions were proposed with respect to the UPO intervention. The first question was concerned with the extent to which UPO had intervened in the lives of these youth under study over the last two years. The data analysis indicated that of the 455 youth interviewed 82.6 percent (376) had heard of UPO and 104 or 22.8 percent (1965-66) of the youth had been involved in UPO programs. The majority of the youth who had been involved in UPO programs were either in the high or medium risk groups.

A subsidiary question was posed, which had to do with the differential effect of UPO intervention efforts for those youth who were in contact with the programs and who were classified into the various risk categories. Of the 91 (1966) youth who were involved in UPO programs proportionately more, 56 (61.5 percent) were in the medium risk group. Twenty two (24.2 percent) were in the high risk group. Together these two risk groups represent 85.7 percent of the total number of youth involved in UPO programs. Except for the Upward Bound Program the type of program involvement is essentially the same, irrespective of the risk group to which the youth has been assigned. Two of the Upward Bound youth are in the low risk group and one is in the medium risk group.

These findings indicate that UPO is reaching and involving the level of youth that needs attention in the Cardozo area. The number, however, is relatively small considering the total number of youth who fall into the high or medium risk category.

The second major question concerns the extent to which UPO has been effective in the reduction of juvenile delinquency for this population. It would appear that UPO has been effective in the reduction of juvenile delinquency. Only nine of the 329 youth interviewed are currently institutionalized. Further analysis reveals that these nine youth were also institutionalized in 1965. The list of names of those youth who were not located for interview in 1966 were screened at the Department of Public Welfare. None of these youth, other than the nine mentioned, were found to be institutionalized this past year.

It would seem therefore, that while the reduction of adjudicated delinquency for this group can not be directly attributed to UPO, it is highly probable that the presence of UPO in the Cardozo area has contributed to the reduction of juvenile delinquency for this population. This would seem particularly true for the youth classified as high risk. The predictions made for the high risk group youth did not hold.

Further study is necessary in order to determine whether the overall delinquency rate for the Cardozo area has been reduced in the past two years. It seems safe to assume that, for those high risk youth who were in contact with UPO programs, the course of their lives were favorably affected by their involvement in UPO programs.

F. Risk Groups and Anti-Social Behavior

The question raised in this section of the report has to with the relationship, if any, between youth classified in the high, medium and low risk groups and to the existence of anti-social behavior for these youth and their families. To answer this question, data collected on school and truancy behavior, individual police contact and specific law violating behavior of the youth and members of his family have been analyzed.

The youth were asked what they enjoyed most about school, a wide range of responses were obtained to this question but for the high and medium risk groups, the most frequent response given was physical education, gym or other recreational activities. For the low risk group, the most frequent occurring response was "friends."

The youth were also asked what they enjoyed least about school, the distribution of their responses to this question is presented in Table 13. Examination of these data indicates that of the total number of youth interviewed, 105 or 32.7 percent disliked everything or several things. Seventy three, 22.7 percent feel that specific subjects was the least enjoyable. Principals, teachers and school authorities were rated the second highest, 68 or 21.2 percent, as being disliked by the youth. These two responses were given by all three risk groups. The high and low risk groups rank teachers, principals and school authorities first and specific subjects second. The medium risk group rank specific subjects first and principals, teachers and school authorities second. Twenty seven, 8.4 percent, of the total number of youth responding to this question, report that there is nothing that they particularly dislike about school.

Table 13

Distribution by Risk Group of Things Enjoyed Least about School

Enjoyed least about school	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No specific dislikes	7	9.3	16	8.0	4	8.9	27	8.4
Principals, Teachers and School Authorities	20	26.7	40	20.0	8	17.8	68	21.2
Students	1	1.3	5	2.5	2	4.4	8	2.5
Specific subjects	14	18.7	52	25.9	7	15.6	73	22.7
Time spent in classes	4	5.3	6	3.0	3	6.6	13	4.1
Home work	2	2.7	5	2.5	1	2.2	8	2.5
School authorities & student	1	1.3	2	0.9	2	4.4	5	1.6
School authorities & specific subject	2	2.7	1	0.5	1	2.2	4	1.2
School authorities & time spent	2	2.7	2	0.9	1	2.2	5	1.6
School authorities & homework	1	1.3					1	0.3
Students and specific subjects	1	1.3			1	2.2	2	0.6
Specific subjects and homework			1	0.5	1	2.2	2	0.6
Several of the above	9	12.0	34	16.9	8	17.8	51	15.9
Disliked everything	11	14.7	37	18.4	6	13.3	54	16.8
Total*	75	100	201	100	45	99.9	321	99.9

*8 no information

The youth were asked if they ever cut class. Half of the youth included in the group reported having cut class and half reported not having cut class. Significantly more of the youth in the high risk group, however, reported cutting class. The low risk group had proportionately fewer youth who reported having cut class. The difference between the three groups is statistically significant.

Table 14

Distribution by Risk Groups on Truancy

Cut Class	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	55	68.8	96	47.3	13	28.9	164	50.0
No	25	31.2	107	52.7	32	71.1	164	50.0
Total*	80	100	203	100	45	100	328	100

*1 no information. X^2 of 19.88 significant at .001 level of probability

The frequency of the youth cutting class is reported in table 15. Examination of the data presented in this table, indicates that of the total number, 106 or 41.2 percent state that they never cut class. The highest proportion is found to cut class about once a year. Closer examination of this data indicates that for the high risk group a higher proportion of the youth reported cutting class once or twice a week. The medium risk group reported cutting class once a year or two to three times a semester. Proportionately more of the youth in the low risk group who reported cutting class are absent from class once a year. All of the youth who are absent from class three or more times a week are in the high and medium risk groups.

Table 15

Frequency of Truant Behavior by Risk Groups

Frequency of truant behavior	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Never	20	28.2	64	42.4	22	62.8	166	41.2
Once a year	8	11.3	25	16.6	7	20.0	40	15.6
2-3 times a semester	5	7.0	17	11.3	2	5.7	24	9.3
Once a month	4	5.6	9	5.9	1	2.9	14	5.4
Twice a month	5	7.0	15	9.9	2	5.7	22	8.6
Once or twice a week	11	15.5	8	5.3	1	2.9	20	7.8
Three times or more per week	7	9.9	8	5.3			15	5.8
Uncertain	11	15.5	5	3.3			16	6.2
Total*	71	100	151	100	35	100	257	99.0

*72 no information

The youth were asked, how often they had difficulty in obeying rules and regulations. Their responses to this question are presented in Table 16. The majority of the youth, when the total population is considered, reported that they rarely ever had difficulty obeying rules and regulations. When the (very frequently, frequently and seldom) categories are combined a total of 71 or 21.6 percent reported having difficulty obeying rules and regulations. Of the youth in the high risk group, 28 percent have difficulty obeying rules and regulations.

Table 16

Difficulty Obeying Rules by Risk Groups

Difficulty obeying rules and regulations	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very frequently			5	2.5			5	1.5
Frequently	7	8.8	9	4.4	1	2.2	17	5.2
Seldom	16	20.0	25	12.3	8	17.8	49	14.9
Hardly ever	57	71.2	164	80.8	36	80.0	257	78.3
Total*	80	100	203	100	45	100	328	99.9

*No information 1

The youth were asked what changes they would make in school if they had the opportunity. Almost one-third of the youth responding to this question would make no changes or they did not know what changes they would make. Of the total number of youth responding to this item, 21.4 percent (67) would make changes in the rules and regulations of the school.

When the changes that these youth would make in the school were examined by risk categories, the high and medium risk groups would make changes in the order of (1) rules and regulations, (2) principals, teachers and school authorities and (3) a combination of other changes. The low risk group list their changes in following order: (1) rules and regulations, (2) curriculum, (3) principals, teachers and school authorities.

Table 17

Changes the Youth would make in School by Risk Group

Changes in school	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No changes	22	28.9	56	28.6	11	26.8	89	28.4
Deportment in cafeteria			5	2.6			5	1.6
Principals, teachers and school author.	9	11.8	29	14.8	5	12.2	43	13.7
Longer lunch period	1	1.3	7	3.5			8	2.6
New building	6	7.9	10	5.1	2	4.9	18	5.7
Shorter class period			8	4.1	1	2.4	9	2.9
Curriculum	4	5.3	16	8.2	8	19.5	28	8.9
Recreational facilities	2	2.6	6	3.1	1	2.4	9	2.9
Assembly program	4	5.3					4	1.3
Rules and regulations	21	27.6	35	17.8	11	26.8	67	21.4
Combinations	7	9.2	24	12.2	2	4.9	33	10.5
Total*	76	99.9	196	100	41	99.9	313	99.9

* Sixteen no information

One hundred and three (31.3 percent) of the youth have had contact with the police. As would be expected, the highest proportion of youth who have had contact with police are in the high risk group. Slightly better than half of these youth have had police contact as opposed to approximately one-fourth of the medium and low risk groups youth. These data are presented in Table 18.

Table 18

Police Contact by Risk Groups

Have you ever had Contact with the Police	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, currently or previously institutionalized	31	38.3					31	9.4
Yes Not Institutionalized	11	13.6	51	25.1	10	22.2	72	21.9
No	39	48.1	152	74.9	35	77.8	226	68.7
Total	81	100	203	100	45	100	329	100

An attempt was made to determine the age of these youth when they first had contact with the police. These data are presented in Table 19. Thirty eight or 37.6 percent had contact with the police between the ages of 14 and 15. When the individual risk groups are examined, it is found that the majority of the high risk group youth had contact between the ages of 16 and 18 and between 11 and 13 years of age. The medium risk group reported the highest proportion of contact between ages 14 and 15 and at ages 11 and 13 respectively. For the low risk group, the highest proportion of first contact are at ages 14 and 15 and the next highest at ages 11 and 13. Examination of the data presented in this table indicates that the pattern of first contact is similar for the medium and low risk groups. Approximately one-third of all risk groups have police contact between the ages of 11 and 13 years. The high risk group, however, reports a higher proportion of first contacts at ages 16 and 18.

Table 19

Ages of Youth When First in Contact
With Police by Risk Groups

Age at First Police Contact	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
8 and 10	6	15.0	4	7.8	2	20.0	12	11.9
11 and 13	12	30.0	15	29.4	3	30.0	30	29.7
14 and 15	7	17.5	27	52.9	4	40.0	38	37.6
16 and 18	13	32.5	5	9.8	1	10.0	19	18.8
19 and 20	2	5.0					2	2.0
Total*	40	100	51	99.9	10	100	101	100

*226 No Police Contact, 2 No information

The youth were asked if they had ever broken a law for which they could have been arrested (Table 20). Of the total 319 youth on whom data were available to this question, 104 or 32.6 percent reported having broken a law for which they could have been arrested.

Significantly more of the high risk group report having broken a law for which they could have been arrested than the other two risk categories. Sixty percent of the youth in the high risk group report having broken a law as opposed to 59 or 29.1 percent in the medium risk group, 15 or 33.3 percent in the low risk group. The difference between the groups is statistically significant.

Table 20

Law Violating Behavior
by Risk Groups

Broken Law for Which Youth have been arrested	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, Currently or previously institutionalized	31	38.3					31	9.4
Yes, Not Institutionalized	19	23.4	59	29.1	15	33.3	93	28.3
No	31	38.8	144	70.9	30	66.7	205	62.3
Total	81	100	203	100	44	100	329	100

X^2 of 36.69 is significant at the .001 level of probability

The 104 youth who reported having committed offenses for which they could have been arrested were screened for the type of offense they had committed. The distribution on the type of offenses committed is presented in Table 21. Examination of the data presented in this table indicates that for the total 104 youth, 51.9 percent (54) have been involved in discipline problems, truancy, disorderly conduct, trespassing, etc. The next highest category of the type of offenses committed by these youth are at a more serious level. Thirty three (31.7 percent) of the youth have been involved in larceny, automobile theft, or receiving stolen goods. When the risk groups were examined for the type of offenses committed, the high risk group has proportionately more youth who have committed the more serious offenses. Proportionately more of the high risk group youth have committed such violations as carrying weapons, burglary and sex offenses.

Table 21

Type of Offenses by Risk Groups

Type of Offense	Risk Group High N	High %	Medium N	Medium %	Low N	Low %	Total N	Total %
Discipline Problems: Malicious Mischief, truancy, incorrigibility, running away, disorderly conduct, indecent language, trespassing	20	41.7	28	59.6	6	66.7	54	51.9
Assault and/or Battery	3	6.3	2	4.2			5	4.8
Larceny: Automobile Theft Receiving Stolen Goods	16	33.3	14	29.8	3	33.3	33	31.7
Carrying Concealed Weapons	2	4.2					2	1.9
Burglary: Breaking and Entry, Entry and Larceny	6	12.4	2	4.2			8	7.7
Serious Sex Offenses	1	2.1	1	2.1			2	1.9
Total	48	100	47	99.9	9	100	104	99.9

The youth were asked whether they or any member of their family had been arrested for breaking the law. Their responses to this question are presented in Table 22. Of the total 307 responses to this question, 114 (37.1 percent) report arrest behavior for either themselves or members of their families. As would be expected, significantly more of the high risk group report family violating behavior than either of the other risk groups. When the two "yes" categories are combined for the groups and compared to the "no" responses the difference between the groups is statistically significant.

Table 22

Family Arrest Behavior
by Risk Groups

Have You and/or Members of Youth Family Ever Been Arrested For Breaking the Law	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, Institutionalized	33	43.4					33	10.7
Yes, Not Institutionalized	18	23.7	52	26.9	11	28.9	81	26.4
No	25	32.9	141	73.1	27	71.1	193	62.9
Total*	76	100	193	100	38	100	307	100

*22 No Information. X^2 of 38.94 for combined "yes" categories against "no" category is significant at .001 level of probability.

The data on the family members who have been arrested for law violations are presented in Table 23. For the total group, the highest proportion of law violations were committed by the interviewees. The interviewee's brothers are second and their fathers are third. Examination by risk group indicates that law violating behavior of family members differs for the risk groups. For example, in the high risk group the order is the interviewee, brothers and the fathers. For the medium risk group the brothers and fathers occupy the same rank order. For the low risk group the fathers and the interviewees occupy the same rank order.

Table 23

Family Members Involved in
Law Violating Behavior
Risk Group

Family Members Involved in Law Violations	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Father	6	12.0	20	33.9	5	33.3	31	25.0
Mother	3	6.0	1	1.7	1	6.7	5	4.0
Interviewee	28	56.0	14	23.7	5	33.3	47	38.0
Brother (s)	12	24.0	20	33.9	4	26.7	36	29.0
Sister (s)	1	2.0	4	6.8			5	4.0
Total*	50	100	59	100	15	100	124	100

*205 report not violating law for which they could have been arrested

Discussion

The question was raised on the relationship between risk group and anti-social behavior. The data analyses for this section indicated that the youth classified as high risk youth tend to cut class more frequently than the medium and low risk group. A higher proportion of them have a disdain for rules and regulations of school as well as principals, teachers, and other school authorities in the school system. Similary, these youth in the high risk group tend to have more difficulty obeying rules and regulations than do the youth in the low and medium risk groups.

All of the youth in the sample, however, have feelings about the principals, teachers and school authorities. If the responses of the youth are to be taken as indicative of the changes that are to be made in the school system, then greater emphasis should be placed on changing the rules and regulations of the school. Secondly, an examination should be made of the relationship between the youth and the school authorities.

Over one third of the youth included in this sample have had police contact. As would be expected, however, the higher proportion of the youth having police contact are those in the high risk group. More of the youth in the high risk group had their first police contact between the ages of 16 and 18, while proportionately more of the medium and low risk youth have their first contact between the ages of 14 and 15.

Over one third of the youth interviewed this second year have broken laws for which they could have been arrested. The percentage of youth in the high risk group (61.7 percent) who have been guilty of law violations is disproportionate when compared with the medium and low risk groups. However, slightly better than one third of the youth in the low risk group and slightly less than one third of the medium risk youth have been guilty of law violations for which they could have been arrested.

The majority of the offenses committed by these youth are misdemeanors. A disproportionate number of youth in the high risk group have committed more serious offenses. When the type of offense is examined, one third of the youth have engaged in larceny, automobile theft or have been guilty of receiving stolen goods.

Over one third of the youth included in this population have either been arrested themselves or they have family members who have been arrested. The proportion, however, is much higher for those youth in the high risk group.

When the specific family member who is guilty of law violating behavior, for the total group is considered, the interviewees are first, their brothers second and their fathers third. Significantly more of the law violating behavior has been committed by either the youth or his brother among the high risk youth. This is in contrast to the law violating behavior of the low risk group youth and his family. The family member committing law violations most frequently for this group is the father. The medium risk group youth has more siblings who are guilty of law violations.

G. Risk Groups and the Existence of a Delinquent Sub-Culture

As indicated earlier in this report, Cloward and Ohlin (1961) have equated juvenile delinquency with the existence of a delinquent sub-culture. These authors contend that delinquent gangs are responsible for delinquent behavior. They excluded from their examination those acts of delinquency that are committed by isolated individuals.

The purpose of this section of the report is to examine some of the assumptions made by Cloward and Ohlin with respect to gang behavior for this population. The first question to be answered is related to whether or not gangs exist for the population under study. A second question is if these gangs exist, are they involved in delinquent acts?

The youth in this study were asked whether or not they had friends with whom they associated or were "tight" with. The distribution of their responses to this question are presented in Table 24. Examination of the data presented in Table 24 indicates that the majority of these youth, 285 or 88.2 percent, have friends with whom they associate or are "tight" with. Although not markedly so, more of the youth in the low risk group have friendship groups.

Table 24

Close Friendship by Risk Group

Friends Respondent Associates or is "tight" with	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	66	83.5	178	89.4	41	91.1	285	88.2
No	13	16.5	21	10.6	4	8.9	38	11.8
Total*	79	100	199	100	45	100	323	100

* 6 No Information

The youth were asked how many persons were in the group of friends. Their responses to this question are presented in Table 25. Examination of these data indicate that the majority of these youth have two or three members in their friendship groups. Sixty one (21.4 percent) of the youth reported that they have ten or more members in their groups. When the individual risk groups are examined on this variable, the high risk group has 50 percent with two or three members in their group, while eight (20.8 percent) have ten or more members.

Table 25

Number of Friends by Risk Group

Number in Group	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Two or Three	33	50.0	67	37.6	18	43.9	118	41.4
Four or Five	9	13.6	42	23.6	9	22.0	60	21.1
Six or Seven	5	7.6	23	12.9	4	9.7	32	11.2
Eight or Nine	3	4.5	9	5.1	2	4.9	14	4.9
Ten or More	16	24.2	37	20.8	8	19.5	61	21.4
Total*	66	99.9	178	100.0	41	100	285	100

* 6 No Information, 38 No Close Friends

The majority of the 285 youth who reported that they had friends, whom they associated with, meet their friends in their homes. The distribution of their responses on where they meet is presented in Table 26. It can be seen in Table 26 that the risk groups do not differ significantly with respect to the meeting of their friends in their homes.

Table 26

Meeting Friends at Home by Risk Group

Meet Friends at Home	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	49	76.6	131	73.6	30	73.2	210	74.2
No	15	23.4	47	26.4	11	26.8	73	25.8
Total*	64	100	178	100	41	100	283	100

* 8 No information, 38 report No Close Friends

Seventy three of the youth reported that they meet with their friends in places other than in their own homes. These meeting places are reported in Table 27. The highest proportion of these youth meet in the homes of other group members. Slightly better than one fourth (26.5 percent) of the 73 youth meet their friends on the streets. The high and medium risk groups tend to meet their friends more frequently in the homes of other group members or on the street. The low risk group youth although the number is small meet their friends in neighborhood recreation centers.

Table 27

Places Youth Meet by Risk Groups

Places youth meet	Risk groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Homes of other group members	6	42.9	16	36.4	1	10.0	23	33.8
On the street	4	28.6	13	29.5	1	10.0	18	26.5
At social functions	3	21.4	1	2.3			4	5.9
Neighborhood Recreation Centers			2	4.5	5	50.0	7	10.3
At neighborhood store			1	2.3			1	1.4
Other	1	7.1	8	18.2	2	20.0	11	16.2
Combinations of above			3	6.8	1	10.0	4	5.9
Total	14	100	44	100	10	100	68	100

The youth were asked whether their group meetings were planned or unplanned. The majority of the youth who answered "yes" to having friends and associates reported that their meetings are unplanned (see Table 28). Proportionately more of the youth in the low risk group reported that their meetings are planned.

Table 28

Planned Meetings by Risk Groups

Group meetings and planned	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	23	36.5	46	26.7	17	42.5	86	31.3
No	40	63.5	126	73.3	23	57.5	189	68.7
Total*	63	100	172	100	40	100	275	100

*Sixteen no information, 38 report no close friendships

An attempt was made to determine the youth's definition of a gang. Their responses to this question are presented in Table 29. Of the total 317 youth who responded to this question, 52.1 percent or 165 report that a gang is comprised of "law violators,""groups up to no good" or playing "big time." Ninety two (29 percent) of the youth, however, perceive the gang as a group that associates together with similar interest or a group that does good things.

Table 29

Definition of a Gang by Risk Groups

Definition of a gang	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	2	2.7	3	1.5			5	1.6
Association together similar interests	19	25.3	55	27.8	10	22.7	84	26.5
Doing good things	1	1.3	5	2.5	2	4.6	8	2.5
Law violators, thugs, & hoodlums	32	42.7	85	42.9	25	56.8	142	44.8
"Up to no good," playing "big time"	7	9.3	12	6.1	4	9.1	23	7.3
Other	14	18.7	38	19.2	3	6.8	55	17.3
Total*	75	100	198	100	44	100	317	100

*Twelve no information

Presented in Table 30 is the distribution of the youth responses to the question of whether or not their group is a gang. The majority of these youth, 266 or 91 percent did not feel that their group was a gang.

Table 30

Perception of Youth's Group as Gang by Risk Group

Youth's group a gang	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	4	6.1	17	9.2	5	12.2	26	8.9
No	62	93.9	168	90.8	36	87.8	266	91.1
Total*	66	100	185	100	41	100	292	100

*Thirty seven no information

The youth were then asked, if they had ever belonged to a gang (Table 31). Fifty nine (18.6 percent) reported that they had belonged to a gang. When the distribution is examined with respect to risk groups, the high risk group contains proportionately more youth who felt that their group was a gang.

Table 31

Membership in a gang by Risk Groups

Respondent has belonged to a gang	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	19	25.3	35	17.5	5	11.6	59	18.6
No	56	74.7	165	82.5	38	88.4	259	81.4
Total*	75	100	200	100	43	100	318	100

*Eleven no information

The 59 youth who reported that their group was a gang were then analyzed to determine how they defined gang. The distribution of their responses is presented in Table 32. Of the 59 youth who reported that their group was a gang, 25 or 42.4 percent defined gang in a positive manner. Twenty one or 25.6 percent of the youth defined gang in a negative manner. The number is relatively small for those who responded "yes" to this question. The distribution is quite dissimilar for the three risk categories. The majority of the youth in the high risk group defined gang in a negative sense. The medium and low risk group tend to define gang in a positive manner.

Table 32

Definition of a Gang for Youth who have Belonged to a Gang by Risk Group

Definition of a Gang	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Association together similar interest	4	21.1	17	48.6	3	60.0	24	40.7
Doing good things			1	2.9			1	1.7
Law violators, thugs, and hoodlums	7	36.8	8	22.8	2	40.0	17	28.8
Up to no good, playing big time	3	15.8	1	2.9			4	6.8
Others	5	26.3	8	22.8			13	22.0
Total	19	100	35	100	5	100	59	100

It was indicated in Table 30 that 26 of the youth had indicated that their group was a gang. The definition of a gang for these 26 youth is presented in Table 33. Again, the number is small but it can be seen in Table 33 that 16 or 61.5 percent of the youth who felt that their group was a gang gave a positive connotation to the word.

Table 33

Definition of a Gang for Youth who Perceive Their Group As a Gang by Risk Group

Definition of a Gang	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Association Together Similar Interest	1	25.0	11	64.7	3	60.0	15	57.7
Doing Good Things			1	5.9			1	3.8
Law Violators, Thugs and Hoodlums	1	25.0	1	5.9	2	40.0	4	15.4
Up to No Good, Playing Big Time								
Other	2	50.0	4	23.5			6	
Total	4	100	17	100	5	100	26	100

Data on the 59 youth who indicated that they had belonged to a gang were analyzed to determine whether their meetings were planned or unplanned (Table 34). The majority of the youth, irrespective of risk groups, report that their groups did not hold planned meetings.

Table 34

Planned Meetings by Risk Group For Youth
Who Have Belonged to a Gang

Meetings Planned	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	7	38.9	10	32.3	2	40.0	19	35.2
No	11	61.1	21	67.7	3	60.0	35	64.8
Total*	18	100	31	100	5	100	54	100

* 5 No Information

The youth who reported they belonged to a gang were examined from the point of view of the number of members in their gang. Forty five of the 59 youth responded to this question, the distribution of their responses is presented in Table 35. In general, the size of the group is either two or three members or eight or nine members for the majority of these youth.

Table 35

Number in Group by Risk Group for Youth
Who Report Having Belonged to a Gang

Number in Group	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Two or Three	8	44.4	4	17.4	1	20.0	13	28.3
Four or Five			7	30.4	2	40.0	9	19.6
Six or Seven	1	5.5	4	17.4			5	10.8
Eight or Nine	9	50.0	4	17.4			13	28.3
Ten or More			4	17.4	2	40.0	6	13.0
Total*	18	99.9	23	100	5	100	46	100

* 13 No Information

Discussion

The majority of these youth included in this study have close friends; but evidence does not support the position that those youth belong to gangs.

The majority of these youth have defined gangs in a negative manner, however, one fourth of them gave a positive connotation to the word.

This is particularly true even for the youth in the high risk group who have dropped out of school, or who have been institutionalized as delinquents. Slightly better than one fourth of the youth in the high risk group have also defined gang in the positive sense.

On the basis of this analysis it seems safe to conclude that for the youth in this study, a delinquent sub-culture as defined by Cloward and Ohlin does not exist.

H. Risk Group and Aspirations

Cloward and Ohlin have postulated that delinquent behavior is related to the discrepancy between aspirations and the opportunity to achieve the valued symbols of success. If the aspirations are not obtainable through legitimate means, illegitimate alternate means are utilized. The purpose of this section of the study is to examine the occupational and educational aspiration of these youth and to determine whether or not discrepancies exist between their aspirations and their perception of their chances of achieving their goals.

The youth were asked what they thought it meant to be a success in life. The distribution of their responses to this question is presented in Table 36. Almost forty percent (119) of the 300 youth responding to this question indicated that the achieving of vocational or occupational objectives meant success in life for them. This percentage is increased when the achieving of vocational or occupational objectives is combined with other categories.

Thirty two (10.7 percent) of the 300 youth are uncertain or cannot say what they think it means to be a success in life. Twenty one of these 32 youth fall in the medium risk group while 8 of them are in the high risk group, only three of the low risk youth are uncertain about what it means to be a success in life.

Reaching their vocational or occupational objectives and the obtaining of economic security are rated first and second by all of the risk groups. The low risk group has the highest proportion of youth who stated that the obtaining of vocational or occupational objectives is the meaning of success in life.

Table 36

Perception of Success in Life by Risk Group

Success in Life	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't Know or Uncertain	8	11.1	21	11.4	3	6.8	32	10.7
Reach Educational Objectives	8	11.1	21	11.4	3	6.8	32	10.7
Reach Vocational or Occupational Objectives	27	37.6	71	38.5	21	47.7	119	39.7
Economic Security	16	22.2	27	14.7	4	9.1	47	15.7
Educational and Occupational Objectives	3	4.2	9	4.9	3	6.8	15	5.0
Domestic Security	1	1.4	7	3.8	1	2.3	9	3.9
Social Acceptance	4	5.6	5	2.7	1	2.3	10	3.0
Educational Objectives and Economic Security			4	2.2			4	1.3
Educational and Domestic Security					2	4.5	2	0.7
Occupational Objective and Economic Security			2	1.1	1	2.3	3	1.0
Occupational Objective and Domestic Security	3	4.1	7	3.8	2	4.6	12	4.0
Economic and Domestic Security	2	2.7	10	5.4	3	6.8	15	5.0
Total*	72	100	184	99.9	44	100	300	99.8

* 29 No Information

Three hundred and fourteen of the youth responded to the question of what they would like to be when they are older (Table 37). Thirteen (4.1 percent) of the 314 youth were uncertain or undecided. All thirteen of these youth are in the medium or high risk groups.

The majority of these youth have set professional or technical occupations as their goals. One hundred and sixty nine (63.8 percent) indicated that they would like to become professional or technical personnel. This occupational category is listed more frequently than any other for all the risk groups. The low risk group has proportionately, almost twice as many youth when compared with the high risk group who aspire to this job classification. A majority of the youth in the low risk group aspire to become professional, technical or clerical workers when they are older.

Table 37

Occupational Aspiration by Risk Group

Occupational Aspiration	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Uncertain or Undecided	4	5.1	9	4.7			13	4.1
Professional or Technical	28	36.4	109	56.5	32	71.1	169	53.7
Managers, Officials, Proprietors	7	9.1	8	4.1	1	2.2	16	5.1
Clerical	13	16.9	27	14.0	10	22.2	50	15.9
Sales			6	3.1			6	1.9
Craftsman, Foreman	10	13.0	13	6.7			23	7.3
Operatives	3	3.9	3	1.6			6	1.9
Services	8	10.4	10	5.2	2	4.4	20	6.3
Housewife	4	5.2	8	4.1			12	3.8
Total*	77	100	193	99.9	45	99.9	315	100

* 14 No Information

One hundred and seventy six (58.9 percent) of the 299 youth responding to the question of what they thought their chances were of achieving their aspiration, believed that their chances are either good or very good (see Table 38).

Only 24 (eight percent) of the youth believe that their chances of achieving their occupational aspirations are poor or very poor. The youth in the low risk group tended to have more confidence in their ability to achieve their stated occupational goals. Twenty four, (77.3 percent) of the 44 youth in the low risk group believe that their chances are good or very good as opposed to 55 percent (100) of the medium risk group and 55.7 percent (42) in the high risk group. Proportionately more of the youth in the high risk group felt that their chances were poor or very poor with respect to achieving their occupational goals. This difference is statistically significant.

Table 38

Perception of Chances of Achieving Occupational Aspiration by Risk Group

Chances of Achieving Aspiration	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very Good	17	23.3	40	22.0	15	34.1	72	24.1
Good	25	34.2	60	33.0	19	43.2	104	34.8
Even 50-50	20	27.4	71	39.0	8	18.1	99	33.1
Poor	9	12.3	8	4.4	1	2.3	18	6.0
Very Poor	2	2.7	3	1.6	1	2.3	6	2.0
Total*	73	99.9	182	100	44	100	299	100

* 14 No Information. X^2 for combined categories, of 16.81 significant at .01 level of probability.

An attempt was made to determine whether or not a discrepancy existed between what the youth stated as their occupational aspiration and their chances of achieving that occupational aspiration. School status, family income, and the interviewee's statement was used as a guide by the research staff in making this determination. The distribution by risk groups for discrepancy is presented in Table 39. A discrepancy was found for 115 (38.5 percent) of the total 299 youth on whom data were available. The discrepancies are markedly higher for the youth who are in the high and medium risk groups. This difference, however, is not statistically significant when these youth in the high risk group are compared with those in the medium and low risk groups.

Table 39

Discrepancies Between Aspirations and Life Chances by Risk Group

Aspiration and Chance Discrepancies	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	15	20.5	12	6.6	2	4.5	29	9.7
Yes, Moderate	15	20.5	61	33.5	10	22.7	86	28.8
No	43	58.9	109	59.9	32	72.7	184	61.5
Total*	73	99.9	182	100	44	99.9	299	100

* 14 No Information, 16 Uncertain. X^2 of 2.53 not significant.

The youth were asked how much education they would need to accomplish their occupational aspiration (Table 40). The majority of the youth felt that they would need a high school education and better in order to accomplish their occupational aspirations. Less than one percent of the 295 youth responding to this question felt that finishing high school would not be necessary. One hundred and thirty three (45 percent) of the youth realized that they would have to finish college or better in order to accomplish their stated occupational aspirations. Markedly more of the youth in the low risk group feel that finishing college is necessary.

Table 40

Perception of Education Needed to Accomplish Occupational Objectives by Risk Group

Education Needed	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grade School	2	2.8					2	.7
Some High School	3	4.2	1	.5	1	2.3	5	1.7
Finish High School	14	19.7	26	14.4	3	7.0	43	14.6
Vocational or Technical School Training	19	26.8	44	24.3	7	16.2	70	23.7
Some College	11	15.5	25	13.8	6	14.0	42	14.2
Finish College or Better	22	31.0	85	47.0	26	60.5	133	45.0

* 14 No Information, 20 Uncertain

The youth were asked how much education they really thought they would be able to get. Their responses to this question are presented in Table 41. Examination of the data presented in this table indicates that a higher proportion of the youth in the low risk group felt that they would be able to complete college. This is in contrast to the 31.7 percent (57) youth in the medium risk group and 17 percent (12) youth in the high risk group. Nine (12.6 percent) of the high risk group youth felt that they would not be able to complete high school.

Table 41

Youth's Estimate of Education He Will Receive by Risk Group

Amount of Education Respondent Thinks He Will Get	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grade School	2	2.8					2	.7
Some High School	7	9.8					7	2.3
Finish High School	19	26.8	45	25.0	4	9.3	68	23.1
Vocational or Technical Training	15	21.1	38	21.1	8	18.6	61	20.7
Some College	16	22.5	40	22.2	8	18.6	64	21.8
Finish College or Better	12	17.0	57	31.7	23	53.5	92	31.3
Total*	71	100	180	100	43	100	294	99.9

* 14 No Information, 21 Uncertain

An attempt was made to determine whether or not a discrepancy existed between the education needed by the youth to achieve his occupational objective and amount of education that the interviewee felt that he would be able to get (Table 42). Examination of the data presented in Table 42 indicates that of the 294 youth on whom data were available, 88 (29.9 percent) had a discrepancy on the education needed and the education the youth felt that he would be able to receive. Significantly, more of the youth, however, did not exhibit a discrepancy on the education needed and the education they expected to receive. The highest proportion of discrepancies occurred among the

the high risk group. The second highest proportion was found among the medium risk group youth.

Table 42

Discrepancies Between Perceived Education Needed and Perceived Educational Chance by Risk Group

Discrepancy Between Perceived Educational Needs and Educational Chance	Risk Group							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	24	33.8	41	22.8	3	7.0	68	23.1
Yes, Moderate	6	8.5	11	6.1	3	7.0	20	6.8
No	41	57.7	128	71.1	37	86.0	206	70.1
Total*	71	100	180	100	43	100	294	100

* 14 No Information, 21 Uncertain

X^2 of 10.485 significant at the .01 level of probability.

Discussion

The analysis included in this section of the report was concerned with determining the relationship between the youth's occupational and educational aspiration and his risk group assignment. The data analysis revealed that a majority of these youth have set as their most important goal the achievement of vocational and occupational objectives. Economic security was rated as the second most important factor.

A higher proportion of the youth in the low risk group tended to be more concerned with the achievement of vocational and occupational objectives when compared with the other two risk categories. By contrast, the achievement of economic security was more the concern of the high risk group youth.

The majority of the interviewees have set professional or technical occupational aspirations for themselves. They may be differentiated in that low risk youth tended to have professional or technical aspirations more frequently than did the medium and high risk youth. A large proportion of the youth in the medium and high risk groups set occupational goals that fall in craftsman, foreman, operatives and service workers categories.

An attempt was made to determine whether or not a discrepancy existed between what the youth aspired to become and their chances of achieving their stated occupational objective. An examination was made of present school status, family income and the interviewee's statements related to occupational aspirations. A judgement was then made by the research staff as to whether the youth could realistically hope to accomplish the stated occupational objective.

Discussion

The analysis included in this section of the report was concerned with determining the relationship between the youth's occupational and educational aspiration and his risk group assignment. The data analysis revealed that a majority of these youth have set as their most important goal the achievement of vocational and occupational objectives. Economic security was rated as the second most important factor.

A higher proportion of the youth in the low risk group tended to be more concerned with the achievement of vocational and occupational objectives when compared with the other two risk categories. By contrast, the achievement of economic security was more the concern of the high risk group youth.

The majority of the interviewees have set professional or technical occupational aspirations for themselves. They may be differentiated in that low risk youth tended to have professional or technical aspirations more frequently than did the medium and high risk youth. A large proportion of the youth in the medium and high risk groups set occupational goals that fall in craftsman, foreman, operatives and service workers categories.

An attempt was made to determine whether or not a discrepancy existed between what the youth aspired to become and their chances of achieving their stated occupational objective. An examination was made of present school status, family income and the interviewee's statements related to occupational aspirations. A judgement was then made by the research staff as to whether the youth could realistically hope to accomplish the stated occupational objective.

Each youth was assigned a discrepancy score based upon the research staff's judgement of the youth's chances of attaining his occupational aspiration. Over one-third of the youth were judged to be unrealistic in their choice of occupation. The discrepancy was greater for the high and medium risk groups. The low risk youth were judged to be the most realistic with respect to their occupational aspirations.

A majority of the youth indicated that they would need at least a college education in order to accomplish their stated occupational objectives. When the youth were asked to consider how much education they in reality expected to obtain, however, only one-third of the group indicated that they would be able to finish college.

When the difference between the education needed and the education the interviewee felt that he would be able to get was examined a discrepancy was found for one-third of the population. A discrepancy was found for proportionately more of the youth in the high and medium risk group.

In summary, a majority of youth tended to perceive themselves as accomplishing their stated occupational aspirations. One-third of the group, however, did not feel that they would be able to accomplish these objectives. A majority of the youth felt that their chances were good for obtaining the amount of education which they perceived necessary for their occupational objective. One-third of the group, however, felt that their chances were not very good.

The discrepancy which this one-third of the youth exhibited with respect to (1) their life's chances and (2) the education needed to accomplish their aspirations may be indicative of the absence of reality based perceptions on the part of these youth.

It is of interest that those youth who are in the low risk category tended to have fewer discrepancies, as judged by the research staff, and also felt that their chances for accomplishing their objectives were much better than the youth in the other two categories. The analyses indicated that the youth in the high and medium risk categories tended to have less confidence in their ability to achieve their aspirations and were more unrealistic in their perceptions of the education necessary to accomplish their occupational objectives.

I. Risk Groups and Perception of the Opportunity System

Landis and Scarpitti (1965) advanced an hypothesis which predicted that a higher level of feelings of limited opportunity would be related to greater delinquency proneness and delinquency involvement. The tables which follow attempt to test a related hypothesis, i.e., that there will be a differential awareness of limited opportunities depending upon the risk groups to which these youth have been assigned. Additional hypotheses related to age and sex of these respondents have also been advanced. As indicated earlier, the attitude scales developed by Landis and Scarpitti have been administered to this population.

The scores obtained on the Awareness of Limited Opportunity Scale are presented in Table 42. The mean score for the group was 21.29. Examination of the data presented in Table 42 indicates that 42.3 percent (135) of the youth had feelings of limited opportunity while 57.7 percent (184) did not feel that opportunity was limited. When the individual risk groups were examined, proportionately more of the youth in the high risk group tended to perceive limited opportunity. The converse is true for the low and medium risk groups. One hundred and twenty (60.6 percent) of the youth in the middle risk group and 34 (77.3 percent) of the youth in the low risk group did not perceive opportunity as being limited. The differences between the high risk group and the other two risk categories is statistically significant.

Table 42

Awareness of Limited Opportunity by Risk Groups

Awareness of limited opportunity score (M=21.29)	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Above	47	61.0	78	39.4	10	22.7	135	42.3
Below mean	30	39.0	120	60.6	34	77.3	184	57.7
Total*	77	100	198	100	44	100	319	100

*Eleven no information, $X^2$18.66 is significant at the .001 of probability

Age and sex were used to determine whether or not differences existed between risk groups and their perception of opportunity system (Table 43). Examination of the data presented in Table 43 indicates that the distribution is essentially the same for both age groups. Further, statistical analysis revealed no difference between the age groups on this variable.

Table 43

Awareness of Limited Opportunity by Age Groups

Awareness of Limited Opportunity Score (M=21.29)	Age					
	15 - 17		18 - 20		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Above mean	75	42.4	60	42.3	135	42.3
Below mean	102	57.6	82	57.7	184	57.7
Total*	177	100	142	100	319	100

*Ten no information, X^2 of .01 not significant

Presented in Table 44 is a comparison by sex on the awareness of limited opportunity. Examination of the data presented in this table indicates that the distribution is again, essentially the same for the males as it is for females. The Chi Square test performed on these data showed no statistically significant difference between the males and females with respect to those who scored above the mean and those who scored below the mean of the group on the Awareness of Limited Opportunity Scale.

Table 44

Awareness of Limited Opportunity by Sex

Awareness of Limited Opportunity Score (M=21.29)	Sex					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Above mean	72	41.1	63	43.8	135	42.3
Below mean	103	58.9	81	56.2	184	57.7
Total*	175	100	144	100	319	100

*Ten noinformation X^2 of .22 is not significant

Discussion

The awareness of limited opportunity scale developed by Landis and Scarpitti was administered to this population. Their responses were analyzed by risk groups. The mean score of 21.29 obtained for this population, is substantially lower than mean scores of 30.85 reported for public school youth by Landis and Scarpitti.

The youth in this group were divided into those that fell above the mean and those who fell below the mean of the group. The analysis revealed that significantly more of the youth in the high risk group tended to feel that there was limited opportunity. The Youth in the low risk group and the youth in the medium risk group did not perceive opportunity as being as limited as the high risk group youth.

This finding tends to support that of Landis and Scarpitti with respect to delinquency prone youth.

The data analysis revealed no differences with respect to age and sex for the population and their perception of limited opportunity. Landis and Scarpitti found awareness of limited opportunity scores to show relatively little change with age. The findings with respect to sex also confirms the work of these authors. They found no differences between lower class sixth grade Negro boys and girls. Similiarly, no differences were found between ninth grade lower class white boys when they were compared with ninth grade lower class white girls.

In summary, youth who are in the high risk group tend to perceive limited opportunity more frequently than youth in the other two risk categories. There were no differences with respect to sex and age and feeling of limited opportunity for this population.

J. Risk Groups and Value Orientation

The value orientation attitude scale developed by Landis and Scarpitti was designed to test assumptions made by Cohen regarding the rejection of middle class values by lower class youth. Landis and Scarpitti in testing the hypothesis, that rejection of middle class values is related to a higher degree of delinquency proneness and delinquency involvement, found that the lower class youth begins to accept middle class values as he progresses in school, particularly after the sixth grade. These researchers reported that Negro lower class youth showed less acceptance of middle class values than did lower class white youth.

The results by risk groups for those youth scoring above and below the mean on this value orientation scale are presented in Table 45.

The mean value orientation score for the group is 30.81. Those youth scoring below the mean have greater acceptance of middle class values. A statistically significant difference was found between the risk groups on the value orientation. Markedly more of the youth in the high risk group reject middle class values than do the medium and low risk youth. Slightly better than 63 percent (50) of the high risk youth reject middle class values as opposed to 44.3 percent (90) of the middle class youth, and 25 percent (11) of the low risk youth.

Table 45

Value Orientation by Risk Groups

Value Orientation Score (M=30.81)	Risk Groups							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Above mean	50	63.3	90	44.3	11	25.0	151	46.3
Below mean	29	36.7	113	55.7	33	75.0	175	53.7
Total*	79	100	203	100	44	100	326	100

*Three no information, X^2 of 17.52 is significant at .001 level of probability

Presented in Table 46 is the distribution by age on value orientation. Significantly more of the youth in the age group 15 to 17 reject middle class values as opposed to the youth in age group 18 to 20. Ninety one or 51.7 percent of the youth in the age group 15 to 17 reject middle class values as compared to 40 percent (60) of the youth in the 18 to 20 age group. The difference between the age groups on value orientation is statistically significant.

Table 46

Value Orientation by Age

Value Orientation Score (M=30.81)	Age				Total	
	15 - 17		18 - 20			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Above mean	91	51.7	60	40.0	151	46.3
Below mean	85	48.3	90	60.0	175	53.7
Total*	176	100	150	100	326	100

*Three no information X^2 of 4.46 is significant at .05 level of probability

A comparison was made between males and females on value orientation. This comparison is presented in Table 47. Examination of the data presented in Table 47, indicates that there is essentially no difference between the males and the females and their rejection or acceptance of middle class values. The distribution is essentially half and half for the male and female youth on this variable. The Chi Square test did not result in a statistically significant difference between the sexes with respect to value orientation.

Table 47

Value Orientation of Males and Females

Value Orientation Score (M=30.81)	Sex					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Above mean	86	47.3	65	45.1	151	46.3
Below mean	96	52.7	79	54.9	175	53.7
Total*	182	100	144	100	326	100

*Three no information X^2 of .13 is not significant

Discussion

It may be concluded that the youth in the high risk group reject middle class values more frequently than do those youth in the medium or low risk group. A statistically significant difference was found between those youth 15 to 17 years of age and those 18 to 20 years of age on value orientation. The younger individuals have a higher rate of rejection of middle class values than do their older counterparts.

No differences were found between the sexes with respect to their rejection or acceptance of middle class values for this population. The distribution is essentially one half rejecting and one half accepting middle class values for both males and females.

Except for the absence of a difference between the sexes on value orientation, the findings in this study tend to support those of Landis and Scarpitti. The youth classified as high risk tend to reject middle class values significantly more than do the other risk groups. The younger interviewees (15 - 17 years of age) reject middle class values more frequently than do the older interviewees (18 - 20 years of age).

Summary and Discussion

This second year of study was designed to answer two major questions. The first question was concerned with the effect of UPO intervention efforts on the reduction of juvenile delinquency on a selected group of youth in the Cardozo School District. The second question was concerned with testing some of the current theoretical assumptions regarding juvenile delinquency. Several subsidiary questions were also posed.

The sample selected for study this year was the same this year as it was the first year of study. A total of 1,644 fourteen and seventeen year old Cardozo area youth were enumerated. This enumerated population of fourteen and seventeen year old youth represents 64 percent of the total projected seventeen year old population and 78 percent of the estimated fourteen year old population in the Cardozo School District. From this population, a sample of 625 youth was drawn. The original sample included 310 fourteen year old youth and 315 seventeen year old youth. A total of 56 youth who were currently institutionalized were included in the sample.

A total of 455 youth were located and interviewed during the summer of 1965. This figure represents approximately 73 percent of the 625 youth in the original sample. Approximately 72 percent (329) of the total youth interveiwed the first year were interviewed the second year.

The data collection instrument was essentially the same as the one used the previous year. The interview schedule contained fourteen broad categories of information, among these were: background; family constellation; motivation and aspiration; attitude toward neighborhood; community participation; anti-social behavior; peer group relations and knowledge of UPO. In addition to the interview schedule, two attitude scales were introduced this second year. The two attitude scales were used to measure Value Orientation and Awareness of Limited Opportunity.

The interview schedule and the attitude scales required approximately 55 minutes to administer. The five interview teams used included Howard University graduate and undergraduate students and Neighborhood Youth Corp Trainees.

During the first year of study, it was found that the youth who were institutionalized did not differ significantly from those youth who were not institutionalized with respect to home status, social class aspirations, percentile achievement scores etc. These findings led to the conclusion that there were many vulnerable youth in the non-institutionalized population.

The pilot work conducted in 1965 on the development of a base expectancy table indicated that there were three variables which differentiated between the youth enrolled and the youth who had dropped out of the Cardozo High School. These three variables were broken home, cumulative average scholastic grade and cumulative average deportment grade. Although the findings from this analysis were tentative, these three variables were used to establish risk groups for the youth included in this study. Those youth who were from broken homes had a low average scholastic grade and a low average deportment grade were assigned to the high risk group. In addition, all youth who were not enrolled in school or who were previously institutionalized or currently institutionalized were assigned to the high risk group.

Youth having the characteristics at the other end of the continuum were assigned to the low risk group. The low risk group included those youth who were living in intact homes. The youth in this group had high average scholastic grades and high average deportment grades. The variations between these two extremes were included in the medium risk group.

A medium risk group youth could come from an intact home but have a low average scholastic grade or low average deportment grade. A medium risk group youth could be from a broken home and have a high average scholastic grade and a high average deportment grade.

The original hypotheses regarding the high risk group youth was that, unless there were some intervention in the lives of these youth, they would become adjudicated delinquents. The data analysis indicated that, for this population over the past year, none of these youth had been adjudicated delinquent.

Over half (55.3 percent) 102 of the youth interviewed the second year were in the age category fifteen to seventeen. One hundred forty seven were in the eighteen to twenty age category. There were eighty one (24.6 percent) youth in the high risk group, 203 (61.7 percent) in the medium risk group and 45 (13.7 percent) are in the low risk group.

The majority of these youth included in this second year of study were males. There were 184 males (55.9 percent) as compared with 145 females (44.1 percent) interviewed the second year. Of the eighty one youth included in the high risk group, thirty one were either previously institutionalized or currently institutionalized.

Intervention Efforts

Two major questions were posed with respect to UPO intervention efforts. The questions were concerned with, (1) determining whether UPO had intervened in the lives of the youth included in this study over the last two years and (2) determining whether UPO intervention had resulted in a reduction of juvenile delinquency for this population. Originally this research was aimed at determining the effect of UPO on the reduction of juvenile delinquency in the Cardozo School District. This question was of necessity narrowed to the effect of UPO program on this population. The scope of the research was narrowed because of the high attrition which occurred over the two year period. The high attrition rate restricts the extent to which generalizations can be made about the reduction of juvenile delinquency in the Cardozo School District.

The majority of the one hundred and twenty six youth who were interviewed in 1965 but could not be located for interview in 1966 were assigned to the high and medium risk groups.

Half of the 126 youth were over eighteen years of age. A total of 276 (82.6 percent) of the 455 youth interviewed during the two year period had knowledge of UPO programs. One hundred and four (22.8 percent) have been involved in UPO programs.

Those youth who were able to make an appraisal of how well UPO is doing the job, felt that UPO was doing the job well or very well. Only eight percent of the youth felt that UPO was doing the job poorly.

Ninety one of the 104 youth who have been in contact with UPO programs were involved in UPO programs during the year 1966. The majority of these youth were in UPO employment programs. A high proportion of these 91 were either high or medium risk youth. This finding indicates that UPO is reaching and involving the type of youth that needs attention in the Cardozo School District. The number, however, is relatively small considering the total number who are in the high and medium risk groups.

It would appear that UPO has been effective in reducing juvenile delinquency for this population. Of the 329 youth interviewed, only nine were currently institutionalized. Examination of the interview data revealed that these nine youth were also institutionalized in 1965. None of the 329 youth interviewed this year had been committed to an institution during 1966.

An attempt was made to determine whether or not those youth not located for interview in 1966 were currently institutionalized. The records of the Department of Public Welfare were reviewed. None of the youth not located for interview were recorded as being institutionalized during 1966. There were, however, 63 youth 18 years of age or older who were not located for interview during 1966. Data are not available on the current status of these youth. It may be that these youth, particularly those 52 who were in the high and medium risk group, are contributing to the increase in the adult crime rate for the District of Columbia.

It was stated in the 1965 Juvenile Court Statistics Report of the Children's Bureau that it was possible that youth born in 1947 when the birth rate was high, had moved out of the the 16 and 17 year old age category in 1965. These youth may be counted in the adult criminal statistics.

The data analyzed on those 147 youth interviewed in this age group, however, did not indicate that these youth, even those in the high risk group, had moved in the direction of adult criminality during the year 1966. It may be concluded that although the reduction of adjudicated delinquency can not be directly attributed to UPO, it is highly probable that the presence of UPO in the Cardozo School District has contributed to the reduction of juvenile delinquency for this population. This would seem especially true for those youth who have been classified as high risk youth in this study. The predictions made for the youth in this group did not hold.

Anti-Social Behavior

The Cardozo School District is in Precincts thriteen, ten and two of the Metropotlitan Police Department. These three precincts are among the top four precincts with the highest incidence of Part I crime (homicides, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, arson, larceny, theft and auto theft). Precinct thirteen is the highest in the city, precinct ten ranks third and precinct two ranks fourth.

These three precincts are also among the top seven of the 14 precincts of the Metropolitan Police Department in juvenile felonies and misdemeanors. Precinct ten ranks fourth, precinct two ranks fifth and precinct thirteen ranks seventh.

It has been pointed out (Jones et. al. 1965) that a high proportion of the youth in the 18 census tracts in the Cardozo area live in areas where the median income is low, where the index of overcrowding is high, where the incidence of broken homes is high, where illegitimacy rates are high and where the over all socio-economic circumstances are low. It has been well documented that family instability, neighborhood deviancy, physical and social deterioration are associated with juvenile delinquency (Willie et. al., 1966, Palmore 1963 and Pathak 1963). In this regard Kenneth Clark (1965) states:

> The child born in the ghetto is more likely to come into a world of broken homes and illegitimacy; and this family and social instability is conducive to delinquency, drug addiction, and criminal violence. Neither instability nor crime can be controlled by police vigilance or by reliance on the alleged deterring forces and legal punishment for the individual crimes are to be understood more as symptoms of the contagious sickness of the community itself than as a result of inherent criminal or deliberate viciousness.

The juvenile delinquency rate in the Cardozo area has been reported as 66.6 per 1,000 youth 10-17 years of age (WAY-UPO Report.) This rate is slightly higher than twice the rate 29.5 for the total city.

Approximately seven out of every one hundred youth living in the Cardozo area are adjudicated delinquents.

A recent study conducted by the Bureau of Social Science Research and reported in the Washington Post, Sunday, February 19, 1967, states that undetected crime in the District of Columbia is probably five times as high as the recorded statistics indicate. If this is the case, it seems probable that the juvenile delinquency rate in the Cardozo area, if detected, reported and adjudicated would be about thirty five out of every one hundred youth.

In this regard Clark stated:

> One of the paradoxes in attempting to understand the problem of juvenile delinquency in a ghetto is not so much the obvious facts of the disproportionately high rate when compared with the rest of a city, but that even in a community of such obvious pathology, so many--more than 90 percent of the youth population in most ghettos--do not come in direct conflict with the law. This is important in any real understanding of the power of human resiliency. One must question, however, whether any society can afford the wastage of human resources implied in the fact that 10 percent of its young people are adjudged as delinquents. No one knows, in addition, from delinquency statistics alone--with which society is often preoccupied--how other gehtto youths lead lives caught up in a tangle of anti-social activity dominated by apathy and despair. Delinquency statistics may obscure rather than clarify, not only because of their reliability in terms of sources and definitions and the extent to which their meaning is contaminated by such tangential problems as neglect and abandonment of children, but also because they only hint at the real problem.

One of the concerns of the study this second year was the relationship between the risk groups and the extent of anti-social behavior. The high risk youth cuts class more frequently and has a disdain for the rules and regulations of the schools. These youth dislike principals, teachers and other school authorities. A higher proportion of them tend to have greater difficulty obeying rules and regulations than do the youth in the medium and low risk group.

One third of the 329 youth have had police contact. The youth in the high risk group, however, have had proportionately more police contact.

The majority of the youth in this study had police contact between the ages of fourteen and fifteen. Some report police contact as early as eight years of age.

One third of these youth indicated that they have broken laws for which they could have been arrested. The high risk group has preponderantly more youth who have been guilty of law violations. The type of offenses committed by these Cardozo area youth, in general are misdemeanors. The high risk group youth were more frequently involved in the more serious offenses.

It was found that over one third of youth or their family members have been guilty of the law violations for which they either were or could have been arrested. The proportion again, is the highest for the high risk group youth. In general, the brothers and the fathers of these youth are more frequently involved in law violating behavior for themselves or their brothers. This is in contrast to the low risk group, which reported their fathers as the most frequent law violator. The medium risk group youth reported more brothers as being guilty of the law violations.

The data analysis on law violating behavior revealed that there is a differential involvement depending upon the risk category to which the youth has been assigned.

Delinquent Sub-Culture

In the book Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, Cloward and Ohlin have defined a delinquent subculture as one in which certain forms of delinquent activity are essential requirements for the performance of the dominant roles supported by the subculture. They specifically state:

> Such behavior as truancy, profanity, property destruction, petty theft, illicit sexual experiences, disorderly conduct, and drunkenness, for example, are deviant; indeed, when they occur among adolescents they are often dealt with as delinquent acts by criminal--justice authorities. However, we would necessarily describe as delinquent a group that tolerated or practiced these behaviors unless they are the central activities around which the group was organized.

In developing their theory of delinquency they exclude acts of delinquency which are committed by isolated individuals. They state specifically:

> We shall exclude from our purview acts of delinquency that are committed by isolated individuals, or by members of groups in which delinquent acts are not perscribed.

An attempt was made to determine whether a delinquent sub-cultures as defined by Cloward and Ohlin existed for the youth in this study.

Cloward and Ohlin have recognized three kinds of delinquent sub-cultures. One is called the criminal sub-culture, and involves the types of gang related to theft and other illegal means of securing income. The second is the conflict subculture. This type of gang is concerned with the consumption of drugs.

In the 1965 fiscal report of the Youth Aid Division, Metropolitan Police Department, it was indicated that there were listed in a special file 131 groups (gangs). About fifty of these were considered active. In referring to gang behavior in the Northwest section of the city, the 1966 Annual Report of the Youth Aid Division states:

> The majority of the gang activity involves a group known as the "Decaturs". This is probably the best organized group in the city. Its members are known to possess and carry firearms varying from hand guns to shot guns. In one incident the "Decaturs" were involved with the "Riggs Park" group in a gang fight at a house party. A member of the "Riggs Park" fired at members of the "Decaturs". Two persons were injured. One 17 year old youth lost the sight of both eyes. An 18 year old youth lost the sight of one eye.

The report continues:

> The incidents reported here are of concern and the potentiality is present. While there has been no large scale gang fight and the situation should not be considered critical, there was serious trouble during the year and the potential should be recognized. . .

The Youth Aid Division conducted 11 narcotic investigations involving juveniles in 1966. The indication was that this behavior was under control between the school year 1966-1967.

An attempt was made to determine whether the youth in this study participated in gangs, and if so, what type of gang. The majority of the youth interviewed in the summer of 1966 indicated that they had friendship groups. Forty one percent of the youth indicated that there are two or three members and 21 percent indicated that there were ten or more members in their group. In general, these youth tend to meet in their own homes or in the homes of other members of the group. One fourth of the total number of youth interviewed, however, indicated that they meet with their friends on the street. The meetings of these youth are not planned.

An attempt was made to determine how these youth defined the term gang. Fifty two percent of these youth indicated that a gang is comprised of law violators, or a group of "youth up to no good" or "playing big time". Almost one third of the youth, however, perceived the gang as a group that associates together with similar interest of a group that does good things.

The majority (91.9 percent) did not feel that their group was a gang. Fifty nine of the 318 youth responding indicated, however, that they had belonged to a gang.

When the definitions given by these youth who indicated that they belonged to a gang were examined, 42 percent of them defined gang in a positive manner. The majority of the youth in the high risk group, however, defined gang in a negative sense.

Twenty six (8.1 percent) of these youth indicated that their group was a gang. Sixty one percent who said their group was a gang defined gang in a positive sense.

The analyses of data collected on these youth indicates that they did not belong to a delinquent subculture as defined by Cloward and Ohlin. The majority of the delinquent acts committed in the District of Columbia are excluded in the definition advanced by these authors.

The fact that the juvenile delinquency rate in the District of Columbia is as high as it is and the fact that gang behavior as described by these authors does not exist to the extent the Youth Aid Division, of the Metropolitan Police Department considers it critical, provides additional concern for reexamining the premise on which this theory of delinquency is based.

Occupational and Educational Aspirations

It has been found that low income parents have high educational aspirations for their children. In a study of low-income mothers, Lewis (1961) found that these mothers have relatively high educational aspirations for their children. He points out that the persistent themes among these low-income mothers are: "getting a good education", "getting enough education", "getting a good job".

Cloward and Ohlin have postulated that delinquent behavior is related to the discrepancy between aspiration and the opportunity for lower class youth to achieve the valued symbols of success. If the aspiration can not be obtained through legitimate means, alternative illegitimate means are sought.

An examination was made in this study of the occupational and educational aspirations of these youth. An attempt was made to determine whether or not discrepancies existed between the aspirations and the youth's perception of his chances of achieving his occupational objectives.

The analysis revealed that the majority of these youth have set the achievement of occupational and vocational goals as their most important objective. The achievement of economic security was rated as the second most important objective. It was found that the youth classified as low risk were more concerned with achieving vocational and occupational objectives than the other risk categories. The achievement of economic security was listed more frequently by the youth in the high risk group.

The youth were asked what they would like to be when they are older. The majority of the youth in this study have set professional or technical occupations for themselves. The youth were differentiated, however, in terms of risk group. The low risk youth hope for jobs in the professional, technical occupations much more frequently than do the high and medium risk youth. A greater proportion of the youth in the high risk group have set occupational goals that fall in the craftsmen, foreman, operatives and service worker categories.

A determination was made of how realistic the occupational aspirations of these youth were. Present school status, family income and interviewee's statement related to his occupational aspiration were used to make a judgement as to whether or not these youth could realistically hope to accomplish their stated occupational objectives.

It was found that over one third of them had unrealistic occupational aspirations. As would be expected, this discrepancy was lowest for the low risk group youth and highest for the high risk group youth.

Similar questions were raised on the amount of education which these youth felt they would need and the level of education they realistically expected to get.

The majority of these youth indicated that they would need a college education in order to accomplish occupational objectives. Only one third of them however, felt that they would be able to finish college.

A discrepancy was again found to exist for one third of the youth on the educational variable. This discrepancy was found more frequently among those youth in the high and medium risk groups than it was found among the low risk group.

The discrepancy which this one third of the youth exhibited with respect to life's chances and the education needed in order to achieve their occupational goal is interpreted as being indicative of the absence of reality based perceptions on the part of these youth.

More of the youth in the high risk group were rated as having these discrepancies. The youth in the low risk group exhibit a great deal more security with respect to their feelings about accomplishing their objectives.

In summary the youth in this study set occupational aspirations that would put them in the professional or technical occupations. One third of them, however, exhibit a discrepancy between (1) their occupational aspiration and their chances of accomplishing their occupational aspirations and (2) the amount of education that they feel they will need and the amount of education which they feel they will be able to get in order to achieve their occupational objective.

The discrepancy is greater for those youth who fall into the high and medium risk group, than it is for those youth in the low risk group.

Awareness of Limited Opportunity and Value Orientation

Two attitude scales purported to measure the youth's feeling of limited opportunity (Awareness of Limited Opportunity) and their acceptance or rejection of middle class values (Value Orientation) were used in this study. These scales were designed by Landis and Scarpitti originally to test the hypotheses (1) advanced by Cloward and Ohlin related to low income youth perceiving limited opportunity and therefore turning to delinquent behavior and (2) the position advanced by Cohen that delinquent youth have rejected middle class values.

A low score obtained on either of the above mentioned scales indicates (1) the absence of a feeling of limited opportunity and (2) the acceptance of middle class values. The mean score obtained on the awareness of limited opportunity scale for the youth in this study was lower than the mean score obtained by the youth included in the study by Landis and Scarpitti. The youth in the present study did not perceive opportunities as being as limited as the population studied by these researchers.

The Cardozo area youth were divided into those who scored above the mean and those who scored below the mean of the group on the awareness of limited opportunity scale. A comparison was then made among the youth in the high, medium and low risk categories.

The youth in the high risk group tended to have greater feelings of limited opportunity than did the youth in the medium and low risk group. When the variables age and sex were examined for this population, no differences were found.

When the scores obtained on the value orientation scale were examined, it was found that the youth in the high risk group rejected middle class values more frequently than did those youth in the medium or low risk groups. The youth in the 15 and 17 year age group also rejected middle class values more frequently than did those youth in the 18 and 20 year age group. No differences were found between the sexes with respect to the rejection or acceptance of middle class values.

The findings of this study tend to support the work of Landis and Scarpitti with respect to value orientation and awareness of limited opportunity. The youth in the high risk group (delinquency prone) have feelings of limited opportunity and reject middle class values more frequently than the medium and low risk youth.

Program and Research Implications

Validation of the findings of this study is necessary. The fact that the three variables, utilized to establish the risk categories for this second year of study, discriminated as sharply as they did among the high, medium and low risk youth, however, has positive program implications. The probability is increased by 11.5 percent over chance, as data analysis from last year indicated, of differentiating between the youth enrolled and not enrolled in school. The program planner, in collaboration with the school authorities, could utilize these three variables - broken home, cumulative average scholastic grade and cumulative average deportment grade - in establishing risk categories for those youth currently enrolled in school. Such an effort could lead to more individualized intervention into the lives of these youth and their families.

In addition to working with the social pathology found among families of these youth, intervention efforts could focus on the counseling of the youth, particularly in the high risk youth with particular emphasis being placed on the setting and accomplishment of realistic occupational and educational goals.

If the responses of these youth are to be accepted as valid, it would seem that some attention needs to be given to the way these youth perceive the public school system.

It was indicated earlier that UPO had intervened in the lives of 104 of the 455 youth interviewed during this two year period. This figure of 104 is almost 23 percent of the total number of youth interviewed over the past two years. This number would be greater increased if programs within the model school system, Roving Leader program and other sub-contracted programs were included.

It was indicated in the body of this report that the majority of the 104 youth who have been in contact with UPO have been involved in employment programs.

The difference between delinquent or criminal behavior and non delinquent or non criminal behavior for this segment of the population, quite frequently, is the obtaining of meaningful employment. An excerpt from an interview of a 20 years old target area youth illustrates this point:

Interviewer: How much education do you really think you need to get to be what you want to be in life?
Interviewee: I would like to have an apprentice job in electronics. At least six months or a year of electronic learning and while I am on the job, get paid for my training so I carry my financial needs while in school. After I learn that, then it won't be hard.
Interviewer: How much education do you think you will be able to get?
Interviewee: Well, if I don't get a job now, I plan to go to this school on Vermont Avenue for electronics and I will stick with any job until I finish the electronics course, then find a job as an electronic technician.
Interviewer: What do you think you will be doing five to ten years from now?
Interviewee: If things keep going the way they are now, I will be in jail.
Interviewer: For what?
Interviewee: Robbery.
Interviewer: Why?
Interviewee: Because I need money man.
Interviewer: Would you go out and rob somebody?
Interviewee: I am on the verge of it now.
Interviewer: Do you have a weapon?
Interviewee: No.
Interviewer: Can you get one?
Interviewee: Yes.
Interviewer: If you were going to rob somebody, would it be the typical liquor store that the fellows tend to rob?

Interviewee: Nope, a Finance Company.
Interviewer: How much would you hope to get in a robbery?
Interviewee: At least $5,000.

It is obvious from this excerpt that this youth is not just in need of employment. His needs include training and counseling. It is quite probable that intervention into the life of this youth may forestall subsequent criminal behavior.

There is ample evidence, growing out of the experiences gained over the last two years, that if programs of intervention are to increase their effectiveness in the urban ghetto, they must necessarily begin to focus on the specific pathology of the ghetto. If the massive efforts needed are not forthcoming, then the setting of priorities to provide the greatest yield for the dollar spent, is a necessity. Research can contribute greatly to effective decisions in this regard.

There are many secondary gains which accrue from the implementation of a research study such as this one. This study has afforded an invaluable training experience for 37 Neighborhood Youth Corp Trainees (NYC). At least 12 or these NYC Trainees are now employed in areas related to the type of on-the-job training which they received while they were associated with this study. The staff involved in this project over the past two years has put forth a very special effort to help equip these youth with certain basic skills necessary to negotiate the world of work. Moreover, the staff has been directly responsible for the placing of several of these youth in full-time employment. Staff time was also allocated for the development of a training program for these youth.

Over the last two years this study has employed, on a part-time basis, 42 graduate and undergraduate students. These students were from the departments of Psychology, Sociology, Education, Economics, Physics and Home Economics. This assignment afforded many of these students their first employment experience in the field of social research.

In addition, to the departments named above there was collaboration between this project and the Howard University College of Medicine and the Howard University School of Social Work. Two group social work theses, entitled, "Programs Services for Adolescents in the Cardozo Area in Washington, D. C. between 1962 and 1965" and "Effects on Parents' Child Rearing Practices of their Children's Participation in the United Planning Organization's Preschool Program, Washington, D. C." were completed during the 1966 academic school year.

The report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia drew heavily upon the work of the first year of this study. Specific recommendations growing out of the research and program implication of the first year's report are included in Chapter Nine, "Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency," of the Commission Report.

Forty one of the youth in this study have also been included in a study of the relationship between parental deprivation and juvenile delinquency. This study is being conducted by a Public Health Officer of the National Institute of Mental Health.

This final report represents the end of the contractual agreement between Howard University and the United Planning Organization. It was anticipated that this study would cover a three year period. Recent legislative cutbacks has necessitated a termination of this contract at the end of this second year. It should be pointed out that while a thrid year of study on the youth included in this study is not to be funded by UPO, the wealth of data collected over the two year period may serve as the beginning of a "data bank" on youth in the District of Columbia.

In this context, the adaptive behaviors ofyouth growing up under conditions of economic and social deprivation, whether they participate in deviant behavior or are apprehended and adjudicated are in need of study in order to formulate and implement effective programs of prevention.

Appendix A

Included below are excerpts from an interview of a twenty year old Cardozo area youth.

B. T. has been classified as a high risk youth. He dropped out of school in the 11th grade and is currently unemployed.

B. T. is married and the father of a two year old girl.

Interviewer: Did you cut, when you were in school?

Interviewee: Yes, about three times a week.

Interviewer: What did you enjoy most about school?

Interviewee: The girls.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Interviewee: You know, messing around with them.

Interviewer: What about school work?

Interviewee: I liked Math, it was my best subject.

Interviewer: Did you like the teachers?

Interviewee: Nope, they don't teach nothing, if they did, they taught fast, if you asked a question and she answered and you still didn't understand, she would call you dumb.

Interviewer: What was it about school you didn't like?

Interviewee: The main thing I didn't like about school-you know, young people drop out of school because teenagers like to party and dress fly, so all the girls and boys will will notice them. These young people don't have money to dress fly, so they dropout and start hustling and before you know it, they end up in jail, because they can't find jobs and have to steal etc.

Interviewer: What changes do you think should be made in the schools?

Interviewee: I think the schools should have a little more better teachers. Teachers that are really understanding of teenagers. Sometimes the teacher just hit you upside the head, punish you after schools. A person 16 or 17 don't feel like being punished by no teacher in school.

Interviewer: What kind of punishment?

Interviewee: Staying after school. If you come in late you have to sit in the tardy hall for three or four hours, that don't make any sense.

Interviewer: How often did you discuss education with your father?

Interviewee: We talked about it a lot after he lost his leg and he wanter me to go to school at night and work in the day. So I went back to school at night, but it didn't work out too well.

Interviewer: How often did you discuss education with your mother?

Interviewee: Every once in a while, but now I see more than ever that education is a most valuable thing but if you have education and don't have other things, why have education. When you go out there the white man won't let you get anywhere.

Interviewer: How old were you when you had your first contact with police?

Interviewee: 16

Interviewer: What was that for?

Interviewee: Disorderly conduct.

Interviewer: How many contacts since then?

Interviewee: Three other times.

Interviewer: Have you ever broken law that you could have been arrested?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What did you do?

Interviewee: Robbery, house breaking, petty larceny

Interviewer: Have you ever stolen an automobile?

Interviewee: Yes, car theft.

Interviewer: Have you ever yoked?

Interviewee: No, I never yoked nobody but I robbed.

Interviewer: Armed robbery or what?

Interviewee: Armed Robbery.

Interviewer: How much did you get?

Interviewee: I have never been caught.

Interviewer: Oh, I mean money.

Interviewee: I had about $700.

Interviewer: Were you by yourself?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Were you afraid, when it happened?

Interviewee: Nope.

Interviewer: How did you go about doing it?

Interviewee: I walked in the store with a brief case, a neck tie, and suit and I had a 22. Wrote a note, gave it to the man, he looked at me, I showed him the gun, and he put the money in the brief case. I turned, walked out then ran till I was out of way. I stayed home for two months.

Interviewer: What do you think a gang is?

Interviewee: Well, it all depends, a group of boys jiving around, trying to find out where the party is, playing pool or just being together.

Interviewer: Do they ever get into trouble?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Are your meetings planned or unplanned

Interviewee: Unplanned, all unplanned.

Interviewer: Do you consider your group a gang?

Interviewee: I don't belong to no gang.

Interviewer: Have you ever belonged to a gang?

Interviewee: Yes, I was a war counselor for LeDeoit Park, that was in my school days.

Interviewer: What is it like?

Interviewee: Well, a gang in N.E. called the "Untouchables" would come over in N.W. They would say let's have a fight to see which team or gang is strongest, my job was war counselor. I was to meet with their war counselor and make all the decisions about where we were going to fight. The war counselors would rumble first.

Interviewer: You have to be pretty good fighter?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Are you afraid of jail?

Interviewee: No, but before I go to Vietnam, I would go to jail.

Interviewer: Do you have any friends in jail?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Have they been there a long time?

Interviewee: Yes, some of them are there for life 17 or 18 years.

Interviewer: How many do you have serving more than 10 years?

Interviewee: Shucks, I don't know, I have so many serving over 10 years. About 30 or 40.

Interviewer: How many finished high school?

Interviewee: About 20 of them.

Interviewer: What do you think it means to be a success in life?

Interviewee: It means a lot, keeps a man half a man, I don't want to be all high and mighty, I just want to be able to make enough money to have a prosperous life. I want a decent job.

Interviewer: When you are older, what would you like to be?

Interviewee: An architect.

Interviewer: What kind?

Interviewee: Design building, you know.

Interviewer: What do you think your chances are of becoming an architect?

Interviewee: Pretty slim, you got to go to school before you can make money, you can't get a job, you can't get a job, you can't make it.

Interviewer: How much money do you think you can get?

Interviewee: If you design something, you can make a lot of money.

Interviewer: What do you call a lot of money?

Interviewee: $20,000 - $30,000 a year.

Interviewer: How much would you like to make five to ten years from now?

Interviewee: As much as I can, at least $40,000 - $50,000 a year.

Interviewer: Why do you think your chances of becoming an architect are slim?

Interviewee: Well, mister, Colored people don't have much of a chance in this country anyway.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Just because of their color, that's the only reason.

Interviewer: Does this means the white man is against the colored man?

Interviewee: I don't know why, if we were back in slavery chains again, we would be alright with them, but because we are not, they don't care nothing about us.

Interviewer: Do they hold the Negro back?

Interviewee: Yes, any way they can, they don't use bottles, but they take an ink pen and mess you up terrible.

Interviewer: How do they do that?

Interviewee: Take an ink pen and sign things, write them up, if you go to look for a job and it's a good executive job or something, and you don't look like the man want you to look, he says, I am not going to let him get it, he'll get too far out.

Interviewer: You were saying the white man is against the Negro?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Why do you say that?

Interviewee: They don't want you to have nothing, because they can't slave you, if they could slave you and put you in chains like they did a hundred years ago.... Now they take an ink pen and stab you to death behind your back.

Interviewer: Have you seen examples of this?

Interviewee: Yes, I have

Interviewer: Where?

Interviewee: Well, I called a service station one morning for a job that paid $110 a week; the man told me to come on out, when I got there, he told me there were no more job openings, when he saw my face. So I went back home and called the same job again and once more he told me to come on out. He was expecting a white boy to come, that's all. And I have worked in a service station before; I can do the work. When he saw my face, he said I am sorry. I said Okay.

Interviewer: Have you ever heard of UPO?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What is UPO supposed to be doing?

Interviewee: Suppose to help poor people to get on their feet.

Interviewer: Have you ever been involved in any of the UPO programs?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: How do they do that?

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Interviewer: What is UPO supposed to be doing?

Interviewee: Suppose to help poor people to get on their feet.

Interviewer: Have you ever been involved in any of the UPO programs?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What type of Program?

Interviewee: I been to the meetings to see what was going. A lot of people were not against it and a lot were against it. I think it has helped juveniles and some of these ex-convicts. It gave them a very good chance to improve themselves. Since OEO won't furnish money, these convicts are going to do something. So if they don't want a civil war, they best to give them money. If they can furnish $20 million for a war, they can furnish 10 or 15 million dollars to help these people have decent life to live, man, you got little babies here to live out of nothing.

Interviewer: How well do you think UPO programs is doing?

Interviewee: Pretty good

Interviewer: Do you think they do the job?

Interviewee: Yes, beside they have helped even the unemployment rate cut down by getting these people jobs.

Interviewer: Have you ever heard of the Roving Leaders?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: What would you say they suppose to be doing?

Interviewee: They suppose to try to keep these programs active

Interviewer: What programs?

Interviewee: UPO programs, you know, they are connected with UPO, and everybody is trying to pitch in for poverty but all these congressmen, they don't see it.

Interviewer: Have you ever been involved in any of the Roving Leaders Programs?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: How well do you think the Roving Leaders' Program is doing the job?

Interviewee: Well, I think if they give them the money they can get the thing through. Man, but see you get somebody that don't want to give nobody nothing, they really owe us more than that. Colored people really built the United States man. The white men came here from England, beat the Indian people to death, run them out of their own country and sent to Africa, got the colored folks to do all their work and now we can't have nothing. Man, we are not slaves any more.

Interviewer: There have been rumours, that if things don't change in the Washington area, particularly the Cardozo area, there maybe a long hot summer. Do you have any thoughts on this?

Interviewee: It's going to be a longer hot summer that's that. If they don't have home rule, and things we want, and if things don't change; white men and all businessmen in the District are going to lose everything, all of them.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Because we are going to have a riot and tear everything down, until somebody come out and say "Wait a minute, give them what they want," just tear it up.

Interviewer: When you tear things up it's been found that the Negros suffer more after a riot than the whites do.

Interviewee: After so much tearing up, they're going to, rather put out enough to help these people, than it takes to repair what's been done or torn down.

Interviewer: Do you believe a riot will help?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Would you participate in a riot?

Interviewee: Yes, I would rather fight here in this country for a good cause, to help my baby and her children to have a good life while they are living on earth, than to go over to VietNam and fight for something I don't know nothing about and don't care about anyway, and kill somebody. I would be fighting here for a good cause. I don't mind dying to help these little babies but not for these grown people. I am talking about these little babies out here, that's what I am thinking about. I'll fight til I die.

Appendix B

Case Evaluations*

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* The six case evaluations were made by Robert Anderson, M. D. Forty one of the youth in the present study were included in a study conducted by Dr. Anderson, on the relationship between "Parental Deprivation and Juvenile Delinquency".

1. The Case of A. R. - A Low Risk Youth

A. R. is a sixteen year Cardozo Area Youth, interviewed on August 24, 1966.

He is a slender boy of medium height and wears eyeglasses. While he attempted to be direct and unperturbed, associated movements were jerky and he had many nervous manerisms (movements of hands and face). He commented spontaneously on this involuntary behavior which occurs in social situations. A's speech indicated well above average intelligence, and there was considerable nuance and elaboration. A. R. appeared mildly anxious, but his emotional response was within normal limits in range and intensity.

A. is the second of five children, second son, with a younger brother and two younger sisters. His parent's marriage has been stable; both are regularly employed in seni-skilled jobs. The family lived in Durham, North Carolina until A. was 10, when they moved to Washington, where his father thought he would have better job opportunity. The father presently works at two jobs, as a janitor nights in a government building, and as a part-time carpenter. He has worked this way for about four years, absenting himself from the home most of the week. A. felt that his father should spend more time at home. He described his mother, who works evenings as a domestic, as a "nervous, edgy" woman who resents the fact that her husband is away most of the time, and especially at night. A. said that the absence of his parents leaves his younger brother and sisters often unattended. In general, however, family cohesiveness seems to have survived these strains. However, A.'s older brother, 17, last year failed to eleventh grade because of truancy.

A. described himself as a loner who has made independence of thought and action a way of life. He has done very well in school, but admits that restlessness interferes with his ability and tasks requiring concentration, particularly reading. He was third in his class in Junior High School, and says he is about fifth in his present class. This past summer he was one of two selected from his school for the Independent Schools Talent Search Program " A Better Chance". He received intensive counselling and took courses at Dartmouth College. He was awarded a scholarship to attend a prep school in Pennsylvania this coming year.

A. is modest about his success and achievement. He is a soft-spoken, and likable. He has a relatively wide range of interests. He is appropriately anxious about the coming experience living away from home in a new kind of school, but appeared adaptable enough to sustain himself.

Peer relationships are not higly developed A. tends towards solitary pursuits like playing his guitar (gift from parents) and listening to records.

2. The Case of J. C. - A Low Risk Youth

J. C. is a sixteen year old target area youth with an engaging and friendsly manner. His speech indicates above average intelligence and there was considerable spontaneous expression of thoughts and feelings. Mood and emotional response were within normal limits in range and intensity.

J. is the youngest of three children, with a brother nine years older and a sister twelve years older. Both older siblings are still single and living at home. The sister works as a secretary; the brother is employed by the government while he pursues a master's degree. The parents' marriage has been stable. J's father has been a regularly employed skilled worker for the government.

As evidenced by the fact of J's older siblings continuing to live at home, the family is a very tightly knit one which maintains close ties with moth maternal and paternal relatives. Leisure time is frequently spent in joint activities. The father, while himself a high school graduate, reads avidly and the home atmosphere appears to be a stimulating one encouraging academic achievement and ambition. While J. has done better than average work in school, he feels he could do better, but has difficulty in applying himself consistently. His fantasies about a successful career as a stock broker living in a penthouse on Wall Street are somewhat modified by more realistic plans. J has gotten by on native talent; indeed, he seems to do well when and where he wants to, be it football or physics.

J. has been the "baby" in his family and the fact of having been raised practically as an only child by devoted parents eems to have bred great self-assurance with some deficiency in steadiness of character. He wants life to go his way without much effort on his part. He seems to have benefited from participation in the "Upward Bound" program at Howard University this past summer and speaks now of wanting to buckle down to assure the success he dreams about. The prognosis is fairly good for this.

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3. The Case of T. G. - A Medium Risk Youth

T. G. is a sixteen year old target area youth.

He is a short, slender boy who seemed rather aloof during the interview. His speech was inarticulate and indicated below average intelligence. T's emotional response was contricted and he appeared moderately characterologically depressed; he often stared at the floor with hands clasped, muttering to himself about his school problems. In talking about school, he expressed both hurt feelings and negativism over having been failed this past year and told he had to repeat the eighth grade. This he said he absolutely refused to do. He seemed to maintain a partial illusion that somehow the school authorities might yet relent and allow him to go into the ninth grade. He gave the impression of being unable to cope with the demands of school, turning more to his pasttime, boxing, and attempting to compensate with fantasies of a glorious career as a professional lightweight. There was no evidence of delusional or psychotic behavior.

T. was apparently born OW and given by his mother to his maternal grandparents to raise in a rural area outside of Richmond, Virginia until he was eight years old. He had no friends, was kept under very tight rein, close to home "allowed to the spring and back". The grandparents moved to Washington (age 8) when the grandfather became ill and unable to work, and have lived here since with Welfare aid. For some time the grandparents have been planning to return to the Richmond area, and recently they did, leaving T. with his mother and stepfather. T. now has four younger half siblings, aged 4 to 7.

T. seems thus far to have managed to get along with his stepfather, who is a fulltime cab driver. He is a fairly heavy weekend drinker, who, T. said, becomes mean when drunk. T. said he had gotten to know the white owner of a local gas station who has befriended him, given him jobs, taught him the rudiments of boxing. "He is like my father." T. tends to avoid peer relationships, he is seclusive, and appeared to be sexually inhibited.

T. is in for rough going. He appeared to be depressed in part because of his grandparents departure, but failure is becoming a chronic pattern. He desperately needs a relationship with an adult male and seems to have found one. What permanence there is to this relationship is uncertain. School dropout in the Fall, however, could well start the spiral towards delinquency.

Impression: Adjustment reaction of adolescence, depressive tendencies.

4. The Case of J. T. - A Medium Risk Youth

J. T. is a nineteen year old target area youth who normally would have been classified as high risk. The intervention on the part of UPO seems to have contributed to his being classified as a medium risk youth.

J. is a tall, solidly built boy who related in an easy, non-affected manner. His speech indicated somewhat below average intelligence. There was considerable spontaneous, but stereotyped elaboration of thoughts and feelings. Mood and emotional response were within normal limits in range and intensity.

J. is the only son and is the older of his parent's two children. He has been married one year and has a ten month old daughter. He is presently employed in unskilled labor by the Government. J., his 20-year old wife, and child live with his wife's aunt.

J's parents' marriage appears to have been a stable one. Both his father and his mother have worked steadily for long periods at the same jobs: father has been a government electrician over 25 years; mother has been a cafeteria helper over fifteen years. His father does electrical repair work after hours. J. used to resent his father's regular absence from the home. He now seems to have become more accepting of his father's desire to earn money, and he himself aspires to become an electrician like his father.

J. did poorly in school academically. Relatively mild, but what he feels were unjust, disciplinary actions in the ninth and tenth grades led to alienation from some of his teachers. He began cutting specific classes, and finally "just gave up" and stopped going altogether. His work experience since dropping out of school has convinced him of the need for further education and he has enrolled in night school.

J's wife's pregancy and his school dropout were coincident and probably related. An indication of his inability to see himself clearly in the role of husband and father is the fact that it was only after fifty minutes of interview that he revealed that he was married. It came out almost as an afterthought. His wife, too, dropped out of school. She is also enrolled in night school and J. said that he has encouraged him to finish high school. The marriage thus far seems to have survived the severe strains of their situation. J. has regrets about the early marriage, but appears hopeful about the future and sincerely grateful for the help afforded by the UPO program in finding a job and providing a means to complete his high school education. The boy who "gave up" two years ago at a time of severe stress, seems now to have matured considerably and to be making realistic plans.

5. The Case G. L. - A High Risk Youth

G. L. is a sixteen year old target area youth who looked sad and hurt.

His manner was somewhat detached and aloof. His speech indicated low-average intelligence and he seemed to welcome having someone who would listen to him, hear "his side". His mood and emotional response seemed remarkably subdued in view of the magnitude of current disturbance in his life, i.e., recent suspension from school and two recent arrests and court appearances. There was both self-rightous vindictiveness and resignation and dispair in his attitude towards significant adults; mother, grandmother, principals.

G. is the second of his mother's three sons. He has brothers, seventeen and fifteen. His father was shot and killed in a street altercation when he was six years old. The only memory of him readily available to G. was that his father used to show them how to fight. G. lives with his mother and maternal grandmother, and a twenty year old female cousin. His maternal grandfather, lived with them until he died in 1961 when G. was age ten. He felt very close to his grandfather and felt facored by him. His mother and grandmother have both done unskilled day work most of his life.

G. feels alienated from his mother and his grandmother. He says they are forever fussing at him. The three brothers seem to present different pictures. The older brother has done well in school, remained out of trouble and in favor at home. The younger brother has been "the baby" at home, gotten the best marks in school, but is currently on probation for stealing. G. has done poorly at school for at least six years (since the grandfather died), repeated the fifth grade (age 10) and the eighth grade (age 14) and recently has been involved with his younger brother in stealing.

Peer relations are close and supportive but the boys chosen are delinquent. G. has been heterosexually promiscuous for about three years.

G. aspires to be an auto mechanic or an electronic technician, but seems to want quick results, instant promotion. He is almost aware of an inability to tolerate academic discipline. He was recently (Oct. 1966) suspended from high school for truancy and insolence. G. is currently in a turmoil. He has few resources within himself to stave off further delinquent deterioration.

6. The Case of L. S. - A High Risk Youth

L. S. is a sixteen year old target area youth.

He is a stocky boy of medium height who sported a recently placed earring on his left ear. L's manner of relating might best be described as playfully ingratiating. He seemed to want desperately to be liked, perhaps, to be applauded. There was an exhibitionistic quality in the way he presented himself. In the earlier non-directive part of the interview, L. gave rich elaboration to both self-descriptive and phantasy material. His speech indicated average intelligence. There was little indication, however, of awareness of, or concern for me as an independent person capable of judgement.

L. spoke of wanting to be an actor and he attempted to demonstrate his talent by describing how so much ofhis life seemed to spend acting. His behavior, he said, depended upon the setting and the people with whom he was with. If he were in a pool hall with hoodlums, he could be a hoodlum; if he were in a church, he could be religious. "It all depended". In any case, he very much felt "part of" any role or setting in which he found himself. He said that he got along with everyone and that everyone liked him (ignoring the numerous difficulties with people he had already described). They treat him liek a "little brother", like a member of the family. The need for the constant reassuring presence of the other person is illustrated by his own statement that he does not like to be alone or to do things by himself, and by his having appeared twice for the interview, both times accompanied by a casual acquaintance. This testifies both to his dependent need and to his manipulative capacity.

In elaborating on his belief in reincarnation, L. said he must have been a wolf or dog in this previous life, "something mean", to account for his bad behavior. Though never intending it, trouble often finds him and has already resulted in numerous arrests. At the same time he recognizes in himself a hot temper; he is easy to feel ridicule and humiliation, quick to take offense and become angry, "too angry".

L. wants to live to be 50. The year he was born is significant for him in that the year 2000 he will be 50 years old. However, while he has an uncanny sense of invulnerability to hurt and to pain, he fears early death and worries that violent death by a policeman's bullet will find him before age 18. At 18 his juvenile court record would be closed and he might escape going to hell. He thinks, too, he would be shot down by a policeman not in an act of wrongdoing, but as an innocent bystander.

The identification with the innocent victim is illustrated by the questions that bother him: "Why do three year old babise die in fires? They ain't done nothin' . . . Why do gangsters live and nuns die? . . . Why do people you love die and go away so early?"

L. S. Continued

Side by side with the feared avenger of phantasy is the grandiose ideal of phantasy. If reincarnated, he ould like to be an eagle, "to be able to fly, by himself, not an airplaine" . . . he would like to be a "hero". If he were a trapeeze artist in a circus he could do more than others (because he had some eagle in him). These thoughts have a paralogical quality akin to the phatasies of an eight year old and euqlly evanescent. L. does not think he is an eagle.

L's emotional response in the interview varied, but within narrow limits. Like his thoughts and behavior it had an evansecent, flighty quality with little evidence of regulation or depth.

L. is the youngest of his parents three children. He has a sister thirteen years older and a brother twelve year older. His parents separated before he was born, reunited, then separated again after he was born, during his second or third year. He has had no contact with his father since age four. L. knows that he lives in Philadelphia, works as a school teacher, has remarried and that he has several half-brothers whom he doesn't want to meet. L's "stepfather" was mother's paramour for many years before moving in with the family when L. was ten. He is a truck driver who recently lost his license for non-payment of fine. He has never punished L. at all, has left discipline entirely to the mother. To L. he is a "good friend". The older sister married and moved out when she was seventeen (L. age 4); the brother moved away when L. was eight years old.

Mother has been regularly employed in semi-skilled work which has required her to spend alternate periods working days and nights. L. describes her as temperamental with changeable, unpredictable moods. He plays with her, but talks more easily with his step-father. On the other hand he would never discuss "serious matters" with his stepfather.

L. dropped out of school in the ninth grade after failing to pass the eighth grade. He found it too "embarassing" to continue. He attributed his difficulty to bossy teachers who had it in for him.

L's first delinquent behavior became evident at age eight (coincident with the brother's leaving home)--implication in a bicycle theft and failure of the third grade. L. found his failure in the eighth grade (age 13) utterly humilating, become an habitual truant the following year, and dropped out of school on becoming sixteen in May 1966.

L. S. Continued

Since then he has been drifting, unable to apply himself to any job he might find, increasingly involved in hedonistic pursuits; promiscuous heterosexual and homosexual behavior, parties, drinking. The earring has been adopted by twelve companions who were convinced by a boy recently arrived from New York City that it was "in" in New York. The group has no leader, however, and no organization.

L's prognosis for non-delinquent adjustment is guarded. He is an immature, impulsive boy driven by phantasy. His family experience has lacked adequate paternal influence. His pretentious phantasies will have to be contained or satisfied. There is no prospect of the former; the latter are likely to impel him to delinquent activities.

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